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AUTHOR Prakasha, Veda
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ABSTRACT

This digest explores the knowledge base underpinning the present understanding of the preschool child. This knowledge base involves stages of mental and physical development, physical and psychological needs, conditions that tend to favor or retard the child's learning and development, and so on. The eight chapters of this digest focus on: (1) characteristics of the very young or preschool child; (2) child rearing and behavior; (3) the child's cognitive development; (4) development from birth to 6 years of age; (5) obstacles to development; (6) the child's basic needs; (7) interrelatedness of needs and actions for need satisfaction; and (8) guidelines for responsible parenthood. (RH)

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The following are the titles in the series of five Digests on Early Childhood Care and Education:

Digest No. I	*Our Future is in Our Children: The Case for Early Childhood Care and Education*
Digest No. II	*Battling Costs for Quality and Quantity: Emerg[illegible] Early Childho[illegible] Education*
Digest No. III	*Zero through S[illegible] Growing; What we [illegible] Very Young Child*
Digest No. IV	*Towards an Open Learning Environment for the Young Child: Some Principles, Practices and Issues in Curricular Planning*
Digest No. V	*Preparing to Help the Young Child Learn and Grow: Training ECCE Personnel*

NOTES, COMMENTS... (CHILD, FAMILY, COMMUNITY)

Digest No. III

Zero through six: earning and Growing; what we know of the Very Young Child

by Veda Prakasha
Unesco Consultant Unit for Co-operation
with Unicef and WFP

UNESCO/UNICEF
CO-OPERATIVE PROGRAMME
UNESCO, PARIS

ED/83/WS/121

Dear Colleague,

Zero Through Six: Learning and Growing
What we know of the very young child

This Digest is the third in the series of five Digests on ECCE and it is aimed at exploring what might be styled the "knowledge base" of our present understanding of the pre-school child - the different stages of his physical and mental development, his physical and psychological needs, the conditions that tend to favour or retard his learning and development, and so on. It is hoped the Digest will be of particular interest to those who are associated with the planning and execution in the field of concrete programmes centring on the care, education and welfare of the pre-school child.

Among the possible uses of this Digest, special mention has to be made of the adaptability of its contents for advocacy as well as training purposes relating to early childhood care and education, parent education and integrated programmes of basic services to children.

Needless to add the views and opinions expressed in the Digest are those of the authors of the original documents, or of the author of the Digest, and do not necessarily reflect those of Unesco.

The occasion to digest the issues on pre-school education has arisen from the growing demand of readers for these. A most gratifying feature of the Series has been that, although originally developed to help programming officers in the field, whether national, or those representing UNICEF or Unesco, to design and implement project activities in education relevant to UNICEF's interests and concerns, it is being currently used by many others for different purposes. It is hoped that the expanding readership of the documentation prepared by the Unit for Co-operation with UNICEF and WFP will find the Digest as relevant to their needs and of as much practical use as the original issues of the Series.

This Digest is based on the following documents:

- *Notes, Comments...(Child, Family, Community) New Series, Sub-Classification: Pre-School Education Nos 1-39;*
- *Maternal and Young Child Nutrition, Nutrition Education Series 3, Unesco, Paris, 1983;*
- *The child and his development from birth to six years, Unesco, Paris, 1976;*
- *The Needs of Children by Mia Kellmer Pringle, Hutchinson of London, 1974.*

Unesco is thankful to the publishers/authors who kindly gave their permission to be quoted extensively in this Digest. While references are given to all quotations from published works in the form of footnotes, extracts from "Notes, Comments..." (Child, Family, Community) New Series are identified with numbers relating to references in Appendix II.

Once again, the Unit will be thankful for your comments and suggestions and, above all, your contribution to the "Notes, Comments..."(Child, Family, Community) New Series.

Ananda W.P. Guruge
Chief
Unit for Co-operation with
UNICEF and WFP
Education Sector

5 August 1983

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THE VERY YOUNG OR THE PRE-SCHOOL CHILD

Introduction

The education of the pre-school child is emerging as a major concern of policymakers in both education and social welfare. Many aspects need clarification - conceptual issues, operational modalities, implementational problems, etc.

Few children in the developing world enjoy circumstances even remotely approximating to the ideal. Only those who are socially and economically well-off grow in a stable family, live in spacious homes with gardens, and are cared for by intelligent parents with the time and energy to spare to support their children's growth. In many of the developing countries, the basic necessities are absent. Mal-nourishment is an acute problem.

Deprived of minimum health care, they are prey to disease. Child neglect is widespread. They are forced to work from a tender age. Their access to intellectual influences, whether in the form of knowledgeable elders, books or mass media is limited, when one considers the demands of tommorrow's world. They become both victims and agents of violence. The general atmosphere in which most children grow is least conducive to their emotional and intellectual growth.

In the developing world there is increasingly an awareness of early childhood care and education and its significance at the level of political assertions sometimes included in prestigious statements of government programmes for the very young child, stemming from a concern for children. But, the concerns for the disadvan-

taged are only now beginning to emerge in the developing world. However, there is considerable vagueness and confusion in defining the disadvantaged. This situation is being recognized and some actions towards resolution are being initiated. One aspect of the problem is that of reaching the disadvantaged even when these can be defined acceptably. Another problem is what activities should and could be presented with the physical and human resources available. (1)

But prior to any other issue concerning pre-school education are the questions:

- *Who is this pre-school age child covered by the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1959) to whose needs the international community seems to be waking up slowly, and is feeling concerned about the lack of conditions and facilities needed for his all-round development?*

- *What do we know about the physical, intellectual, emotional and other aspects of his development?*

- *How much knowledge do we have about his characteristics at different stages of growth - assuming that there are such stages - and how much do we know about his basic needs, biological and others, assuming that he has such needs?*

- *Is there a reasonable constancy to such characteristics and needs or is the variation from one culture to another so extreme that any set of generalizations about the 'average' child, if the use of such a term is to be permitted at all, must be considered to be hazardous in the extreme?*

Put simply the main question is: How firm is the knowledge base of the theory and practice of so-called 'pre-school' education?

Problems and Limitations

There are a number of problems here :

- The first is that as the child is totally dependent for most of his needs on the family, particularly his parents (and other adult members), not much importance is generally given in most cultures to the acquiring of scientific knowledge about his development or for using it for improved parenting purposes. Because of his utter dependence, physically, initially, and continuing defencelessness for years, thereafter, the tendency everywhere is simply to take the child for granted.
- Second, the propositions seeking to establish a discernible connection between the early childhood experiences of a child and the kind of personality make-up he eventually comes to acquire relate to two different stages, separated by such a long period of time in the life of the individual, that, unless the supporting evidence was meticulously recorded and periodically sifted from the very beginning, it could easily escape the attention of the cleverest of parents and the astutest of observers. What compounds the problem is that such generalizations, unlike relationships in some other areas of human enquiry, cannot, because of many practical considerations, be even verified or demonstrated to prove their validity. And as if these difficulties were not serious enough, the fact of the matter is that our knowledge about the child and how he develops is so rudimentary that no psychologist or social scientist other than a Watson could make bold to assert that given a particular kind of environment and up-bringing of known specifications, an entirely predictable type of personality would emerge.

In dealing with child development we are dealing with a multi-variate situation of extreme complexity. Here the relevant factors, so difficult to separate and identify, do not operate or move in neat linear sequences, but in chains or clusters of concurrent interaction. As such the tools of research and enquiry available to the researcher, as compared to the complexity of the data they are supposed to collect and analyse, are so crude and primitive, that they often break down before reaching the bottom of their probings.

Invariably the result is to get trapped in egg-chicken variety of riddles when it is more a matter of subjective opinion as to which part of the situation is treated as cause and which as effect. Longitudinal studies, so crucial for building up a solid knowledge base cannot be mounted frequently or easily because of considerations of 'logistics'; while the scope for controlled experimentation is minimal because of the social and ethical issues such studies raise.

These limitations in knowledge and research capacity notwithstanding, however, the combined efforts of medical scientists and physiologists, biologists and bio-chemists, psychologists and psycho-analysts, anthropologists and sociologists, teachers and social workers, are hopefully generating insights and 'bits' of knowledge which, taken together and viewed in 'convergence', have already sharpened our understanding of many important aspects of child growth and development and created real possibilities for the emergence of early childhood education as a separate field of enquiry.

The importance of pre-school years

In the first years of life, the development of intelligence, affectivity and social relations is so rapid that we may consider that its success largely determines the whole future. Any irregularity may, unless detected in time, and treated appropriately, markedly reduce future capacities. It is during the first four or five years of life that many personal behaviours - in language, attitude, values, even ways of learning - begin to take on the form they will retain for a lifetime. We now spend billions for remedial work, for penal and mental institutions, and for belated compensatory or supportive education necessitated, in a number of instances, because educators have not had early contacts with the children who will become their clientèle. (2)

What kind of research evidence can be cited in support of assertions such as these? Here is a somewhat longish but relevant extract from M.K. PRINGLE *:

"Longitudinal research is beginning to provide an understanding of the pattern of human growth. Three quite specific features have emerged which have important practical implications for child rearing:

FIRST, the development of various basic characteristics does not proceed in equal units per unit of time, i.e., growth does not take place at an even pace.

SECONDLY, for most aspects, the period of most rapid growth takes place in the early years (i.e., from conception to six years or so) and is then followed by periods of less and less rapid growth with a 'spurt' at puberty; for some characteristics there is as much quantitative growth in a single year of a child's life as there is in eight to ten years at other stages in his development.

THIRDLY, available evidence suggests that environmental influences have the greatest effect during the most rapid periods of growth. From this it follows that it is experiences and opportunities during the early years of life which are particularly vital to later development.

Physical development

Height is the most extreme case of the first generalisation referred to above. During the nine months from conception to birth, growth is of the same absolute magnitude as it is during the nine years from three to twelve; and *from conception to the age of about two and a half years, half the full adult stature is attained.* Hence, one would expect that it is pre-natally and during early infancy that the environment has the greatest effect, for better or worse. Available evidence shows this to be so.

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* Pringle, M.K., *The Needs of Children,* Hutchinson of London, 1974, pp. 19-23

Intellectual development

As much development takes place in the first four years of life as in the following thirteen years. *It has been estimated that about 50 per cent of intellectual growth takes place between conception and the fourth year, and about 30 per cent between the ages of four to eight years.* Unlike physical development, however, it continues well into adulthood, but the pace becomes very much slower after eighteen years or thereabouts.

With regard to vocabulary, by eight years of age, about 50 per cent of the level attained by eighteen years will have been reached. So again, early environmental influences have a marked effect on measurable cognitive functioning. Recent studies suggest that social class differences, affecting language development, emerge during the first year of life and become unequivocal by about the age of three.

Emotional and social development

Precise and objective evidence remains very inadequate in this area. Paradoxically, less is known about the development of normal than of deprived, disturbed or delinquent children. Two aspects of personality have, however, received particular attention, partly because of their central significance in personal relations and partly because they are more readily observable than other characteristics. These are aggressiveness and dependence on others for support and direction.

Differences between boys and girls in the development of these aspects can be noted early and the 'sex-appropriate' behaviour becomes well established during the pre-school years. This suggests that for personality development, too, the early years are of great importance.

With regard to behaviour and adjustment, problems are already apparent among children in infant schools, by which age some 14 per cent show considerable difficulties in school. The lower the parental occupational status, the lower tends to be the proportion of well-adjusted children.

Educational development

Available evidence suggests that of a child's general attainment at the age of eighteen, approximately half has been reached when he is about nine years old. However, the capacity to respond to, and benefit from, education inevitably depends on the level of a child's intellectual, language and emotional maturity. Therefore, it is again experience during the pre-school years which has a vital influence on later scholastic progress.

Findings from the National Child Development Study show that even as early as the age of seven years there are marked differences in scholastic attainments between children coming from each of the five occupational groups into which the Census divides the total population; during the following four years, these differences in attainment continue to widen. With regard to children removed from their families, their educational difficulties were found to be more severe, the earlier the child's first separation from home and the less contact his parents had maintained with him subsequently.

Differential growth, which takes place during early childhood, is presented below in summarised form for the six aspects of development just discussed. It is based on the assumption that growth is more or less complete by the age of eighteen to twenty years. What is shown is the age by which - according to Bloom's synthesis of available knowledge - the half-way stage of development is reached for each aspect.

	Age in years
Height (from conception)	*2 1/2*
Intelligence	*4*
Vocabulary	*8*
Aggressiveness in boys	*3*
Dependence in girls	*4*
School attainments	*9*

'Sensitive' periods

It is evident then that normally more progress, change and development take place during the first few years of life than in any comparable time thereafter. This is true too of the post-natal growth of the brain itself, which is more rapid in the first two years. In the case of young birds and mammals, the existence of 'sensitive' and 'critical' periods over a very wide range of development is incontrovertibly established; during these periods, there is greatly heightened susceptibility to specific experiences, such as stimulation or isolation, which may have a lasting and irreversible effect.

Whether in children's development there are also such 'sensitive' periods during which responsiveness to the environment is maximal - and hence learning optimal - has not yet been quite so clearly demonstrated. The evidence suggests they do occur but that they are not as 'critical' or fixed as, say, the result of 'imprinting' is in birds.

However, there are definite indications that children, too, respond more readily to various environmental opportunities at certain periods: strong emotional relationships, particularly with their mother, are developed during a relatively circumscribed period (from about six to twenty-four months); and skills such as walking and talking are usually acquired at roughly similar ages by most children. Conversely, if a child has not learned to speak at all by the age of five years or to read by the age of ten (despite normal opportunities to do so and in the absence of sensory handicaps), then it is most unlikely that quite normal speech or reading ability will ever be achieved.

At the same time, not only are these sensitive or optimal periods of longer duration among the human young but also later learning can and does take place, although it is slower and more difficult then.

That early childhood experiences have great potency is quite beyond doubt; so is the fact that their consequences are often longlasting and may be very difficult to alter. Of course, this does not mean that experiences later in a child's life may not also have a similarly marked or lasting effect on subsequent development.

As in most other fields, prevention is undoubtedly better than cure. Hence, the attention and emphasis now being given to the earliest years, indeed months, of life is entirely justified."

II

CHILD REARING AND CHILD BEHAVIOUR

How does a child start learning and how does he progressively build up his repertoire of responses, skills and capabilities particularly to deal with his social environment? An interesting theory of child learning and development is that put forward by Robert R. Sears. Like Piaget he makes use of developmental phases rather than exact age norms, and suggests that in the continuum of development, whatever the individual does, thinks or feels in any area of his life at any given point in time is "intrinsically linked" to the person's image of himself, his family, and his key reference groups. Each individual is inwardly dealing with his own inner experiences, his primary environment, and his secondary environment. He can

only relate to these three spheres in the way they are integrated by him, regardless of the image others may hold of him. *

According to Sears' learning theory of behaviour, development may be viewed as a continuous, orderly sequence of conditions that create actions, new motives for actions, and eventual patterns of behaviour. Therefore, social conditions dictate the existence of three developmental phases:

a. *the phase of rudimentary (asocial) behaviour, or the period of pre-socialization, which is based upon native needs and learning in early infancy (first six months of life);*

b. *the phase of secondary motivational systems which is based upon family-centred learning, covering most of the impact of socialization in early childhood (six months to five years of age);*

c. *the phase of secondary motivational systems which is based upon learning beyond the family.*

The three phases of development may be described as three expanding circles on a pool of water into which a stone has been dropped. The first, innermost circle represents the child's most intimate parental environment. The next circle stands for the child's emergence into a larger family environment. The outermost circle emphasizes the child's gradual social penetration into his neighbourhood. Each circle, as it expands, blends into the next larger circle, thereby losing its original limited separateness. Similarly, the expansion of each developmental phase, like converging circles, encompasses a larger sphere of learning.

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* Harfouche, J.K., Paper on *Psycho-social aspects of breast-feeding including bonding*, Nutrition Education Series, Unesco, N° 3, 1983, pp. 38-40

The five major motivational systems are: dependence, feeding, toileting, sex, and aggression.

The most important processes in development are: identification, play, mobility, reasoning, and conscience.

The social factors within the family setting that receive most consideration are: parents' own status, sex of the child and ordinal position, social class, education, and cultural heritage.

"Dyadic" interactions and bonding in the pre-socialization period (first six months)

The child's first relationships with his environment are of crucial importance in forming the bases of subsequent personality development. The pre-socialization period (first six months) connects the biological environment of the newborn infant with his social environment, and provides the foundation for ever-increasing interactions with this environment.

The newborn infant has various biological needs that result in primary drives or 'cues for action': hunger, thirst, sleep, fatigue, sex tension, need for waste elimination, activity, optimum temperature maintenance. These drives make up a complex and are instigators of social learning.

The newborn is also endowed with potentialities for securing many forms of gratification from his world. He can eat, eliminate, be warmed or cooled, and can be fondled and loved. These experiences are not only gratifying, they are also the sources of learning. Simultaneously, the way in which the innate biological needs are met introduces environmental learning experi-

ences. These nurturing experiences are increasingly related to the physiological stimulations until social learning becomes the primary instigator of behaviour.

Breast-feeding and bonding

Hunger produces tension that seeks reduction through any gratifying response. Thus, the 'cue of hunger' becomes associated with the action response - crying and breast with hunger-reducing fluid. Repeatedly satisfied responses and the attendant events that lead to the satisfaction are received together as rewarding experiences. The mother's promptness, dependability, regularity, and personal warmth (e.g., fondling, close body contacts, etc.) provide the essential reinforcement. A mother who devotes much appropriate attention to her child at the times he needs her is supportively reinforcing. The child, in turn, is more apt to adapt his behaviour to those forms that will assure his mother's consistent attention. There is more common interaction and guidance from a truly loving mother than from a less available, or less loving, mother.

The key to control is embedded in this "dyadic" relationship. The infant learns both to control and to be controlled. As a quick learner, he soon develops his techniques of co-operating with those who care for him, and of controlling them and ensuring their nurturance. Successful development is characterized by a decrease in autism and innate need-centred actions and by an increase in "dyadic", socially-centred behaviour, instead of occurring by trial and error, and then become part of an action sequence with a learned, goal-directed response. Failure to develop results in a lack of movement, or in a reversal of the trends mentioned above.

Dependence and 'dyadic reinforcement'

Dependence is considered as a most essential component of learning or motivational systems. The infant reveals dependent tendencies from birth because of immaturity. Initially, dependency, like other motivational systems such as feeding, starts with the child's participating passively with help from the adult as the major reinforcing agent, until he can later actively maintain his dependency, in which the adult no longer plays a major role. The latter, however, does not occur until the next developmental phase (e.g., six months to five years of age). The adult handling of dependency and control provides the beginning for the process of identification.

During the first six months, the child's self-control comes from the control of his parents. Rewarding reinforcement in all 'dyadic' situations depends upon the child's having consistent contacts with one or more persons. The essential relationship has its beginning in the earliest child-mother contacts when the child shifts his processes of learning from those based on trial and error to those based upon 'dyadic reinforcement'. A 'dyadic' relationship fosters dependency and, thus, reinforces it. The dependency is nurtured through the 'dyadic' relationships of feeding during the fourth to twelfth months. Once appropriate behaviour assures dependency, a truly 'dyadic' relationship exists.

The child's innate need for the reduction of his hunger becomes quickly associated with two essential and interrelated components of his food-intake sequence: to suck and to be near the nursing person. The mother bringing food then fosters a 'dyadic' relationship and simultaneously reinforces dependency on herself as the caring adult. The mother is seen as an indispensable part of the activity of sucking and the intake of all food. Her image, smell, feel, voice, etc., are closely associated with gratification. The child not only learns to expect her to come when he is hungry, he also learns that he needs her. It is this link between the drive for food and the desire for the mother that is

essential to this phase of development. The child's natural desire to eliminate and to express himself sexually remain asocial desires.

By the time a child is one year old, he has become related to his mother in such a way that not only do many of his satisfying actions require her presence and co-operation, but her very orientation toward him - indeed, her simple existence near him - is a source of satisfaction. He loves his mother; he is emotionally dependent on her.

Family-centred learning, secondary motivational systems and socialization

After the first six months, the family is the cause of all subsequent learning for the infant, and a study of a child's family leads to a description of his early childhood development.

The phase of secondary motivational systems, which is based upon family-centred learning, covers most of the impact of socialization in early childhood (six months to five years). Essentially, during this phase the child develops his own personality as directed by his elders through their child-rearing efforts.

The socialization process is that process by which the infant learns the ways (life-styles) of a given social grouping and is 'moulded' into an effective participant of that group. The individual learns of the values, attitudes, norms, and other attributes of his culture; in time he becomes a social being. It is a long, tortuous process, and the individual travels the route in his own unique way, and acquires those minimal personality qualities or traits deemed appropriate by the group. This is not to say that he

becomes an exact replica of the expectations of his fellow members. It is impossible to duplicate the experiences, perceptions, and interpretations of any given member of a group, even with twins. Therefore, each individual is unique at the same time as he has commonalities with his group.

During the socialization period, the child's primary needs continue to motivate him. These, however, are gradually incorporated into repeatedly reinforced social learning, or secondary drives. Thus, these secondary drives will be his main motives to action unless his social environment fails to provide the necessary reinforcement.

The mother continues to be the major reinforcing agent during the early stage of this phase. She perceives behaviour that should be changed and establishes standards for more mature forms of action. The mother, however, must first instill in the child a desire to become socialized. If she accomplishes this successfully, the child's learned desire toward accepted social behaviour will lead him in the direction of more mature activity and response. The child becomes aware that his personal happiness depends upon his readiness to do as he is expected, and eventually his actions become self-motivated.

At this stage, punishment, rather than reward, becomes an important factor in the process of socialization. Contrary to its intent, however, punishment as used in this context does not alter behaviour, it merely serves as a clear sign of refusal to support a behavioural event.

Some of the successful withdrawal of care occurs at this time (e.g., mother's preparation for a new sibling, or her return to work), because the child will have learned by spontaneous imitation of an action sequence previously carried out by his mother to fill his own needs to some

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extent. Imitation occurs and is reinforced by the child's self-activated goal-achieving response.

With less dependence on a caring person, the child becomes freer to compete with others (e.g., the motivational drive of competition develops). He gradually learns that nothing is his sole monopoly and he has to compete for his desired goals.

III

COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHILD

As cognition, including the development of intelligence and language, represents one of the most significant aspects of child development, and also happens to be one of the better-researched areas in child development, it will be useful at this point to have a quick look at some of the findings.

Cognition

Several hypotheses have been advanced to explain how a child's thinking abilities develop. According to a behaviouristic conception, for instance, thinking develops in the individual as a result of the encounters between the human organism and the environment. The variety, quality and frequency of encounters determine each individual's character and future intellectual growth. This places a high responsibility on education systems to provide learning opportunities and conditions for the realization of full psycho-physiological development and genetic potential.

Some psycho-linguists, however, postulate a more active role for the child. According to them the child constructs his own personal model of his environment on the basis of his encounters and uses this model to forecast future perceptions of existence and reality. It is the knowledge of what is likely to occur, they say, that guides much of the learner's activity. And the fact that the learner often does perceive what he expects to perceive, differentiates this theory from the strictly behaviourist one above. (3)

But undoubtedly the most systematic study yet made of children's thinking is the one associated with the name of Piaget. He demonstrated that

"... cognitive development passes through stages of increasing complexity, the sequence of which is not readily altered. The 'sensory-motor' period is the first and lasts about two years. At this stage, the infant's knowledge of the world depends on his bodily interaction with and his actual handling of objects.

Next comes the period of 'pre-operational thought' which lasts until about seven years. During it, the child is beginning to think symbolically, with speech playing an increasing part. For example, when he pretends to be driving a car, while sitting in a cardboard box, he symbolises his past experience and relates it to the present. These two stages are dominated by his immediate perception, and thinking is on what Piaget calls the 'intuitive level'.

The third stage, which lasts until about eleven years, he calls the period of 'concrete operations' and the final one, which is accomplished by about fifteen years, the period of 'formal operations'. During the former, most of the child's thinking is still based on concrete objects or specific situations; he cannot as yet transfer what he has learned in one physical context to another. For example, the concept of 'conservation' of volume requires the understanding that certain properties (in this case the volume)

of objects remain constant even when other properties (e.g., the shape) are changed. Most eight-year-olds know that pouring water from a tall thin container into a short broad one does not change the amount of water; but only by about eleven years will there be the ability to comprehend that the volume of the two containers is also the same. In other words, the capacity for hypothetico-deductive reasoning is reached in the period of 'formal operations'. It is only then that abstract thinking becomes possible." *

Piaget believes that in the main cognitive development is determined by four factors: (1) nervous maturation; (2) encounters with experience; (3) social transmission and (4) equilibrium or auto-regulation. The first three are essential for cognitive development; however, it is the fourth one (auto-regulation) which overall plays a major role in the quality and rate of cognitive growth. Assuming that the child is biologically ready to learn and that he is talked to by his parents and that he is born in a social environment, one may think that is all the child needs to develop. But in addition to all these factors, the child must himself be active in exploring and interacting with his environment. In this sense he must be the creator and the co-ordinator of his own development. (4)

Piaget's ideas have influenced the work of many contemporary psychologists - developmental and others. Bruner's well-known assertion that "any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development", for instance, implies that the subject has to be presented in a manner appropriate to the child's stage of development.

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* Pringle, M.K., op.cit., p. 48

Another well-known psychologist, J. Hunt has shown that children learn best through encounters with their environment. "The crucial problem is ... finding the most stimulating circumstances for each child at each point in his development. Given anything too incongruous, children will withdraw, or ignore it; anything too familiar, and they will have no need to modify existing patterns of thought."

All of these eminent psychologists agree that children pass through a number of stages in their intellectual development over the progression of which parents and educators have little control. Teachers and parents must match the activities they provide for children to the level each child has attained. (5)

While appreciating the importance of Piaget's stages of cognitive development, the significance of the biological factors relevant to what he termed 'nervous maturation' should not be overlooked. In order to ensure this, expectant mothers must, when facilities exist, attend clinics for early diagnosis of any factors that might hinder normal development of the total foetus, as cognitive development will be adversely influenced by mother's malnutrition, disease, addiction to drugs and to alcohol, etc. Also any delay in a specific area of development will affect the rest of the foetus development; cognitive development, for instance, will not proceed normally if motor development is delayed due to unfavourable conditions. (6)

The great conceptual contribution of Piaget to our understanding of the cognitive aspects of child development notwithstanding, Margaret Donaldson of the University of Edinburgh criticizes Piaget for his abstract experiments with children, accusing him of ignoring the children's need to learn from "'real-life' meaningful situations in which they have purposes and intentions and in which they can recognize and respond to similar purposes and intentions in others". *

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* Donaldson, M., *Children's Minds*, 1978, p. 127 from N.S. 107

Young children, she argues persuasively, are conscious of operating in the world, but not of the methods they use to cope with it. They cannot call these methods into service deliberately when tasks are divorced from 'real life'. School work places such a demand on children as they learn the symbols involved in reading, writing and arithmetic. It is therefore essential that pre-school and, to some extent, school programmes provide educational experiences that are embedded in reality as well as suited to the child's level of development. For pre-school children this means designing educational activities that relate to the real world and that prepare the child for the instruction in symbols he will receive later in school. The broad range of cognitively stimulating preparatory activities, different from the 3Rs, is what most early childhood educators mean when they speak of Education. (7)

Language

"Probably the single and in the long run most crucial factor which promotes intellectual growth is the quality of the child's speech environment: not merely how much he is talked to, but how relevant, distinctive and rich the conversation is."

"The most essential element is the reciprocity of speech between child and adult, the latter initiation or responding to conversation. Hence, the mere presence of adults or just listening to conversation (on T.V. for example) is insufficient." *

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* Pringle, M.K., op.cit., p. 90

"Language development follows a regular sequential pattern, from babbling to short words and finally to sentences, which will increase in length and complexity."

"The child who is 'bathed in language' - whose mother talks while she plays with and does things for him, who tells him nursery rhymes, stories, sings and converses - such a child will be attuned to sounds from an early age."

"In turn, the first sounds he himself makes, which vaguely resemble real words, will be greeted with such pleasure by parents aware of the importance of early vocalising, that he is likely to repeat them more often until he does in fact connect the word with its object."

"The child who asked, 'How do I know what I think till I hear what I say?' neatly summarised the central role of language for intellectual functioning; indeed, thought itself has been defined as 'internalised speech'. The young child uses monologue a good deal, in a kind of running commentary on what he is doing. Whether this reflects his egocentricity at this stage (as Piaget suggests) or whether it is a sort of self-directive communication (as Vigotsky maintains) remains to be established as do many other aspects of speech."

"Once the child has acquired some language and understands that words refer to things, child-rearing becomes easier."

"Communication is improved and speech also provides the child with increasing control over himself as well as his environment. For example, the word 'no' makes it possible for him to reach out to touch something hot and then to control the impulse himself by the incantation of the parental prohibition. which had checked him on previous occasions."

"Thus language plays a part not only in learning self-control but in the formation of conscience. Also, with increasing age the child comes to appreciate that verbal aggression is socially more acceptable than its physical expression and that it can be equally effective, even if not quite as immediately satisfying. Similarly, through words he begins to form concepts and to generalise; for example, he will learn to distinguish between cats and dogs, and to comprehend that both are animals. Gradually, with increasing linguistic facility, the higher mental processes of reasoning and judgement will begin to develop.

Though there are wide individual variations among children, eight-year-olds have on average acquired 50 per cent of the vocabulary they will have at the age of eighteen."

Observers of children's language behaviour have found that generally

"at every age, children from middle-class homes are ahead of those in working class homes. It is not simply a question of the latter reaching the same level but at a somewhat later age; rather, the whole mode of language differs, from a smaller vocabulary to the use of shorter, simpler and often incomplete sentences; also, subordinate clauses, adjectives and adverbs are employed less imaginatively and frequently".*

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"Why should speech and thought processes of children from working-class homes tend to be more limited in range, subtlety and sensitivity? Two main hypotheses have been put forward to account for this differential language development (Bernstein, 1961; Hess and Shipman, 1965; Newson, 1972). First, middle-class children generally live in a verbally much richer environment where they are encouraged to listen and respond to increasingly more mature speech patterns; where stories, nursery rhymes and word games are an important part of daily routine; and where conversation is freely engaged in, for example at meal time, during

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* Pringle M.K., op.cit., pp. 46 & 47

shopping and at bedtime, rather than being regarded as time-wasting chatter.

Secondly, working-class and middle-class homes tend to differ in their style of child-rearing, the former favoring an 'authoritarian' and the latter a more 'democratic' form of discipline. In democratic homes, the reasons for expected behaviour and for rules are explained, verbal means of control are preferred to physical, and the child's views and wishes are taken into account in decision making. So in addition to the greater inclination for verbal interchange, there is also a greater need for it in 'democratic' homes. This means that there are more frequent, prolonged and reciprocal interactions between parents and children. These foster two other aspects of behaviour: a readiness to approach new problems with an open mind and a sense of personal independence.

On the other hand, less conversation is needed in the 'authoritarian' home since mainly non-verbal means of prohibition and punishment are employed, and words are used more to threaten and enforce obedience rather than to make the child understand the rationale behind social behaviour. It may well be that cuffs and blows are resorted to more often by working class parents partly because they are less able to put their feelings into words. The use of actual physical violence in socially impoverished or disturbed homes is likely to produce poorly socialised children who will then carry the same behaviour into the next generation.

Thus these two different ways of upbringing - conveyed through language - generate a different family 'climate' which in turn shapes behaviour and personality. On going to school, the child is expected to adopt the language of mainly middle-class teachers and to cope with a largely middle-class curriculum." * This can easily create difficulties for the young learner.

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* Pringle M.K., op.cit., p.49

In so far as pre-school education is concerned the importance which should be attached to all exercises calling for verbal activity in all the situations a child may be in before he goes to school, whether in the family or in a pre-school institution, cannot be overemphasised. Talking to a child and getting him to talk should not be considered as pointless, or a waste of time. It is the principal means of contributing to his intellectual and social development.

The importance of the pre-school stage for language learning derives from yet another consideration.

This is the stage when timely intervention to remove a defect or deficiency can be effectively made. It is now known that a slight defect in articulation can arrest language development and that a minor disturbance in perception can have incalculable effects on the subsequent development of the personality and on scholastic achievement in particular. The sooner a defect is noticed, the more quickly it can be remedied; what is merely a matter of a few special exercises when first noticed often necessitates long treatment later on. In this way the teacher or the pre-school mediator can contribute to one of the main goals of pre-school education, namely, to give every child the same chance of succeding at primary school, and thus make pre-school education an important factor in democratizing educational opportunity.

It is interesting to note that the first Head Start programmes in the United States emphasized the compensatory effect of the development of verbal and mathematical skills. An early evaluation, in 1968, of the most effective elements in such programmes stressed the importance of an encouraging

and stimulating teacher, a programme focused on specific tasks, a programme of general studies and emphasis on linguistic development.*

General intelligence

In so far as the present status of research bearing on the question of whether or not compensatory pre-schooling serves to produce gains in general intelligence (I.Q.) and other related questions, is concerned, A.W. Wood ** sums up the position as follows:

During the late 1950s and early 60s in the United States "... a group of social scientists and reformist administrators put forward arguments based on individual local projects which suggested that the kind of experience encountered by the child in early life was critical to its general cognitive development and that therefore programmes of early childhood education could literally change the quality of life for the victims of poverty.

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* Mialaret, G., *World survey of pre-school education*, Educational Studies and Documents, No. 19, Unesco, 1976, p. 34

** Wood, Dr. A.W., *Pre-school Education, A continental and international perspective*, Address at the National Seminar on Pre-school Education and its Development in Kenya, Malindi (13-19 June 1982), Report of the Seminar, Kenya Ministry of Basic Education with Bernard van Leer Foundation, Kenya Institute of Education, Nairobi, October, 1982, pp. 49-51

Much of these claims at that time were based on an earlier piece of work conducted by Skeels in an institutional setting among orphan children. Skeels had reported as early as 1939 that a small-scale special programme of early childhood education had produced IQ gains of two standards deviations. More significantly he reported again (published in 1966) on a follow-up study on the same group comparing them with an equivalent group. The results were startling. "In the experimental group, average years of schooling were 11.7, 11 of 13 were married, and all were self-supporting. In the control group, average of schooling were 4.0, 2 of 11 living subjects were married, 7 had marginal jobs, and 4 continued to be institutionalised." These findings indicated that an early intervention programme could literally make the difference between success and failure in the lives of its participants.

These kinds of statements supported, as said earlier, by other contemporary projects and writing (Hunt, Bloom, Susan Gray, Deutsch, Weikart) produced the motivation for the celebrated Project Head Start, a nation-wide programme of more than 1000 variations on early childhood education, some well planned, others rapidly improvised, all, however, seeking to demonstrate that 'compensatory' pre-schooling could produce gains in IQ and improvements in school achievement. The 'disadvantaged' child, a polite name for poor, was viewed as maladapted to the school system. Compensatory education would, it was claimed, somehow adjust the child to fit the system better. (...)

"The rest of the history of Head Start is commonly written off with relish by the cynics, and there have always been enough of these in academic and public life in whatever country. The first published reports on specific projects within Head Start were positive. The late 1960's produced a group of statements which indeed demonstrated that well-planned, compensatory programmes could raise IQ and by inference predict school success. The names are

familiar - Weikart 1967, Klause and Gray 1968, Deutsch 1971. Very shortly afterwards the first evaluation of the total programme was conducted by the Westinghouse Corporation and Ohio State University (1969). This clearly pronounced that Head Start as a whole had no positive impact on children's cognitive performance. This report unleashed a wave of critical comment on Head Start from the academic sceptics who suggested *inter alia* that pre-school gains were ephemeral, that intervention was too early (Elkind) that intervention was too late (Hunt), that compensatory programmes *merely* heightened motivation on the part of both teachers and pupils and thus provided a false flowering (Zigler). The most controversial critic was, however, the Harvard psychologist, Jensen, who argued that intelligence was inherited and pre-determined. Thus 'compensatory' efforts *could* not succeed. (...)"

"In the case of Weikart's Perry Pre-School Programme, it is shown that *when programmes are well conceived and implemented* lasting IQ gains of at least eleven points five years after pre-school still prevail. The optimists in the years after Head Start still hold the view, and with much more evidence to support them, that *quality* pre-school education *can* contribute in important ways to enhancing achievement in school and breaking through the cycle of poverty. The future findings of these projects will obviously be of great interest. (...)"

"A recent OECD survey states: 'The providers of traditional nursery education have argued that early education has long-lasting effects, but recent evaluative studies throw doubt on this. It is, however, clear that the most disadvantaged children benefit from 'substitute' care which provides adequate nurture during early childhood, and that they will acquire skills which they might not otherwise gain during these years, e.g. physical skills, language competency, social skills. It is also possible, even likely, that the spread of good child care and education will bring about a secular change in age-related standards of development which current evaluation measures may fail to pick up.'"

Thus the overall picture concerning the significance or otherwise of compensatory pre-schooling seems to be highly reminiscent of the unresolved controversy regarding the relative contributions made to intellectual development by heredity (genes) and the environment (culture). The issue is still unsettled and will perhaps, for good reasons, ever remain so. But while the pure behaviourist or environmentalist has been discredited, few would now question the role of the environment including the child's upbringing in shaping his intelligence, even if in their judgment heredity has a much greater influence. In fact the heredity versus environment debate is likely to remain sterile, for in the very nature of the case, conclusive evidence cannot simply be engineered.

The problem can be likened to the situation only too familiar to the farmer:

"to obtain a good crop of wheat, he needs not only good seed but also good soil and appropriate moisture, temperature and fertiliser to nourish its growth. However, all of these can be controlled and varied in a way which would be neither acceptable, nor indeed possible, in relation to the genetic and environmental components of human beings."*..."At the same time, all available evidence confirms that, from a practical viewpoint, the most important element in shaping behaviour and development is the environment in general and other people in particular." **

And this is where all intervention - preventive or remedial - must concentrate. Moreover as P.E. Vernon points out

"man has by no means reached the limits of his mental powers;

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* Pringle, M.K., op.cit., p. 17

** Ibid., p. 19

there is immense room for improvement at the lower end of the scale, and the possibility of more effective 'techniques' at the top end".*

In other words just as the body of the young child needs food and nourishment to grow, so does his mind need environmental stimulation to realise its potential capabilities.

It is in this that the unique contribution a good home or stimulating parental care and attention makes to the intellectual development of the child must be seen to lie. It is also in this that the basic problem of the disadvantaged child must be seen to reside. It is not necessarily in the lack of the material conditions alone that the home of such a child can exert a negative influence on his intellectual and emotional development; far more crippling can be the parental attitudes lacking in warmth and stimulation. To be effective, the care and education of the pre-school child has to be arranged in accord with this fundamental consideration.

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* Pringle, M.K., op. cit., p 19

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IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRE-SCHOOL CHILD FROM BIRTH TO SIX YEARS

Research, study and cross-cultural surveys are continually adding to our knowledge on different aspects of the growth and development of the pre-school child. What we know about him already will be more than adequate to fill several series of volumes! We reproduce below a list of reference points for following a child's development from 0 to 6, that first appeared in Unesco's (1976) The Child and his Development from Birth to Six Years Old. The reference points can serve as guidelines to assess whether or not in a given case the child's development is reasonably satisfactory and proceeding normally.

The list is selective and not exhaustive; nor is the sequence of (reference) points to be taken to rigidly.

Each child, we have to remember, is a unique human being in the making, who in the particular circumstances of his family will, whether we like it or not, follow his own unique pattern of development. Differences, among others, in temperament, physical capacity, environment, and family ambience will make it inevitable that at a given age perfectly "normal" children behave differently. The infant who walks at the age of eleven months is no closer to the normal than the one who walks at sixteen or eighteen months. Nor will a child who has initially advanced very quickly necessarily keep up with his advantage. For all that we know, he may slow up in the rate of acquiring new skills, controls and capabilities and get caught up with a child who seemed "late" only a few months previously!

From birth to 3 years

From birth to 3 months, the child:	Observations
spends most of the time sleeping learns to raise his head and then to hold it up learns to follow a moving object with his eyes, look at a face, and smile in response visually discovers the world around him reacts to noise recognizes his mother (visually, but especially by sense of smell and hearing and perhaps by sensory perceptions difficult to define) refines and adapts his primary reflexes such as grasping; he involuntarily holds on to an object placed in his hand burbles spontaneously and responsively	The newborn baby is often thought to be a vegetative being who does not see or recognize anything. This is untrue. The newborn infant communicates with those around him, reacts to the psychological state of his mother (calm, excited); from the age of 3 months, the child of an anxious mother also manifests his anxiety by cries resembling cries of pain.

From 3 to 6 months, the child	Observations
holds his head up perfectly well and can remain seated for a few moments with support	At this age the child catches hold of objects not between thumb and index finger, but between the palm and the last four fingers. The mouth is an important way of getting to know things for the infant
begins to catch hold purposely of an object within reach and holds out his hand to an object offered him	
brings objects to his mouth	
tries to widen his field of vision, for example by resting on his forearms if he is lying on his stomach, or raising his head and shoulders if he is lying on his back	
laughs heartily and utters shouts of pleasure in response to adult's play	
begins to look for a lost toy	

From 6 to 9 months, the child:	Observations
sits up alone for a short while	In some countries the ability to sit up is acquired earlier
when lying on his back, turns over to lie on his stomach	
can crawl towards an object or a person	
begins to be able to remain upright if he is held in position	
passes an object from one hand to the other and grasps an object in either hand	
grasps small objects between thumb and index finger	
amuses himself by throwing objects	
utters several syllables without verbal meaning	
recognizes the faces of members of his family and may be afraid of strange faces	
begins to participate in relational games (hand patting, hide and seek)	

From 9 to 12 months, the child:	Observations
can get to its feet alone (for example by holding on to a piece of furniture) and walk held by two hands, then by one hand or catching hold of a piece of furniture	
imitates a noise (for example by striking two objects against one another)	
repeats a sound which he has heard	The child repeats the syllables which he has pronounced and to which those around him have given a meaning
learns to pronounce two or three words	
understands a prohibition or a simple order	
shows great interest in exploring the world, looking at everything, touching everything, and bringing everything to his mouth	
collaborates intensely in play with adults	

From 12 to 18 months, the child:	Observations
walks on his own and explores the house and its surroundings	
stacks two or three cubes one upon another	
fills a receptacle (a cup with small objects, cubes, pebbles)	
can pronounce five to ten words	
manifests jealousy (tears or gestures of anger) and reactions of rivalry in play with his older brothers and sisters	The young child's socialization and his introduction to group life begins with these normal manifestations of rivalry and even aggressiveness

From 18 to 24 months, the child:	Observations
walks up and down stairs first held by the hand, later alone, supporting himself	
stacks six cubes	
indicates his eyes and nose	
puts two words together and enriches his vocabulary	
learns to eat alone	
imitates a line on paper or in the sand	
begins to be toilet trained in the daytime (stools, then urine)	Toilet training greatly depends on cultural habits; the age may vary
shows great interest in the actions of adults and tries to imitate their movements	
shows a growing interest in other children, and wants to play with them, but in a very personal way (taking their toys, for example)	

From 2 to 3 years, the child:	Observations
learns to jump, climb, and hop on one foot	
can arrange three cubes in a "bridge"	
develops his speech considerably, using "I" and "me", begins to ask questions, understands most words and phrases spoken to him	
can reproduce a circle on paper or in sand	
begins to play properly with other children and to understand that there is another world outside the family nucleus	The age of 2 really marks the beginning of socialization

From 3 to 6 years

From 3 to 4 years, the child:

walks around on his own, visits neighbours

can walk on tip-toe

learns to dress and undress alone

acquires toilet training at night

imitates a cross, draws a figure with a head and trunk, sometimes other parts of the body

recognizes two or three colours

speaks intelligibly, but still using childish language

can state his name, sex and age

asks many questions, and is interested in how children are born

recognizes top and bottom, front and back

listens to stories and asks for those he likes to be told again

plays with other children, begins to share things

shows affection for younger brothers and sisters

becomes able to perform simple tasks

From 4 to 5 years, the child:

leaps, jumps, swings

walks downstairs putting one foot on each step

draws a figure with head, and principal limbs and parts of the body

copies a square and a triangle

speaks quite intelligibly

knows how to count his fingers

knows his age and the day of the week

listens to a story and can repeat its substance

still asks many questions, takes an interest in new words and their meaning

protests vigorously when prevented from doing what he wants

can recognize four colours

can assess shape and size, distinguish large from small

takes an interest in the activities of adults

From 5 to 6 years, the child:

knows how to climb trees and dance to music

can catch a ball thrown from a distance of one metre

can remain motionless for one minute

speaks correctly, relinquishes childish language

draws a figure with head, trunk, limbs and hands

begins to distinguish right from left, yesterday from tomorrow

asks for the meaning of abstract words

takes an interest in the activities of the home and the quarter

takes an interest in the age of young people and old people

distinguishes between sweet, salt, sharp and bitter flavours

invents games and changes the rules while they are proceeding

detests authority imposed on him, and carries out orders slowly

performs simple tasks with interest

Malnutrition

Perhaps nothing highlights the importance of nutrition for the growth and development of the pre-school child better or more dramatically than the damaging irreversible effect malnutrition can have on the growth and formation of the child's brain soon after birth. But first of all it is important to realise that the effects of malnutrition on the young child - deficiency in proteins, in calories, or both - are many. We must distinguish here the 'acute' effects of such deficiencies, which may involve a variety of diseases (whether it is a question of marasmic malnutrition or oedematose malnutrition, otherwise knows as kwashiorkor)*, and the more long-term consequences which may persist for months or years, or even permanently, constituting a handicap for the child.

> *Foremost among these sequels are retarded growth (responsible for the small stature of many people who have been undernourished in their early childhood) and mental underdevelopment. The harmful consequences of malnutrition on cerebral and mental development have been revealed only in the last ten years.* **

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* In the case of marasmus, the child is thin and gaunt, no more than a skeleton. In kwashiorkor, on the other hand, he is swollen and bloated because of oedema (accumulation of water under the skin).

** *The child and his development from birth to six years old*, Better understanding for better child-rearing, Unesco, 1976, p. 28

The brain, like the rest of the body, requires food in order to grow, and in recent years scientists have become increasingly concerned about the possible long-term consequences of malnutrition for brain growth and for the development of the higher nervous and mental processes which are functions of the brain. We know from animal studies in the laboratory, and from autopsies on children who have died through accidents, quite a lot about brain growth; but the relation between brain growth and psychological development is much less well understood.

Let's first consider brain growth. In all animal species, including man, this occurs early in life, is very rapid, and is virtually complete by the end of early childhood. In man the 'brain growth spurt', as it is called, starts during the last three months of pre-natal life and continues throughout the first eighteen to twenty-four months of post-natal life. At birth the brain is already about 25 per cent, and at 6 months nearly 50 per cent of its mature weight. The whole body, by contrast, is at birth only about 5 per cent of its young adult weight, and it is not until a child is 10 years of age that it attains 50 percent of its young adult weight.

The timing of the brain growth spurt is determined genetically, and if it doesn't take place during a certain critical period (which varies in different species) no 'catch-up' in growth is possible later. Since the brain is the organ of the mind, this early critical period of brain growth spurt is significant for the whole of a child's future.

These effects are not reversible later even if the animal is subsequently placed on a good and well-balanced diet. Instead, they persist throughout life. (8)

One of the characteristics of infantile malnutrition is the reduction in the child's physical activity; he does not play much, tires easily, turns in upon himself, and takes little interest in his surroundings. And this reduced activity does not facilitate his contact with other people or the deriving of benefit from all the experiences of those around him. These children are less advanced because they do not have the same possibilities of acquiring experiences on their own, of exploring, finding things out and plaguing adults. It is understandable that this should have lasting effects.

When it occurs in the very young child, serious malnutrition due to protein and calorie deficiency can in itself, it seems, lead to a slow-down in cerebral development, which is reflected in a lag in the acquisition of various mental functions. This can have serious consequences on the child's future (failure at school, social maladjustment, etc.).

But if moderate malnutrition occurs in an older child - which is much more frequent - the problem is less serious, though more complex. It is indeed extremely difficult to make a distinction between that which results from malnutrition itself and that which can be attributed to insufficient affective and intellectual stimulation deriving from the environment in which the child lives. *

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* *The child and his development from birth to six years old*, Better understanding for better child-rearing, Unesco, 1976, p.29

It seems clear that the resumption of normal feeding of undernourished children attenuates the delay in psychological development, but it must always be complemented by a cultural and affective enrichment of the environment. In many studies a close relationship has been found between the children's intellectual development and the type of home they came from. These studies indicate that both home stimulation and good nutrition are important for intellectual growth, and that both continue to exert a powerful influence on development throughout childhood. Relatively good home circumstances help to repair the damage caused by malnutrition in infancy, though the effects of malnutrition are still very evident in later childhood. This means that in the case of young children suffering from malnutrition and resulting underdevelopment a veritable transformation of the environment in which the child lives is absolutely necessary to ensure that he is adequately fed and receives the mental stimulation essential to his satisfactory overall development including social adjustment.

The interrelationships between a child's material and social environment, his nutrition and his growth and development are very complex indeed. But taken as a whole, while the evidence unequivocally points to the great importance for brain growth of intrauterine life and the first two years of childhood, it also brings out clearly that in so far as development is concerned, the whole period of childhood is significant and that both nutrition and education contribute to the growing intelligence of the child. (9)

Accidents

The accident-proneness of the young child must be recognized and safeguarded against. The exploration of the external environment involves, particularly when the child begins to walk, a major risk of accidents. It has been found that in countries where the risk of infection and malnutrition is high, mortality resulting from accidents between the ages of 1 and 4 accounts on the average for 3% of total deaths. In countries where these risks have almost completely disappeared, the absolute number of deaths is less, but accidents still account for 30% to 40% of them.

Below the age of 1 year, accidents are not rare, though they are relatively less important than other causes of infantile mortality. The usual causes are choking due to food in the windpipe, suffocation, falls, burns, etc. Frequently they are attributable to lack of supervision and attention on the part of parents.

Between 1 and 4 years, accidents most frequently occur at home or in the vicinity of the home, the most dangerous place being the kitchen and, in general, all places where there is a fire (the risk of burns). Above the age of 5 years, accidents occur mainly outside the home.

The psycho-motor characteristics of the child at a given age can mean that situations which are harmless for a child of another age are dangerous for him. The trouble of course is that the environment is organized by adults, for adults, and is not matched to the requirements of children at different stages of growth. *

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* *The child and his development from birth to six years old*, Better understanding for better child-rearing, Unesco, 1976, p. 29

Unfulfilled developmental needs

A major source of problems in the way of normal development of the child is the failure of the family to meet his basic psycho-social needs.

For child development to be optimal, a number of conditions must be satisfied simultaneously: a family background of shared affection and security; an encouraging ambience; satisfactory physical health and nutritional conditions; interesting games and activities, and so on. Unfortunately, it quite frequently happens that some of these conditions are not met.

Many children live in families where there is little stimulation, inadequate conversation and where the infant has for all practical purposes to fend for himself. These are homes too unstable, too disruptive and threatening for the child to feel that he is loved, or that he is wanted and cared for. The range of possible symptoms of maladjustment which will inescapably surface among children living under such conditions is wide and will often include anger, hate, lack of concern for others, inability to relate satisfactorily to others, and fear or anxiety. Basically they fall into two broad categories: fight or flight, attack or withdraw.

Aggressiveness calls forth much stronger adult reactions whereas the timid, over-conforming child with deep anxiety symptoms tends to be overlooked. Yet both types of behaviour are equally significant signals for help indicating that the child's emotional, social or intellectual needs are not being adequately met.

Children living in unfavourable and unsatisfying home conditions need help.

The role of a pre-school institution should be to offer them a mix of complementary care and education which the family cannot give. But the responsibility of the institution does not end there; it must further explore every possible opportunity to help parents in achieving an improved understanding of the psycho-social needs of their children and of how best to meet them. It is of the utmost importance that the spontaneous and uncoordinated efforts of the parents in this regard give way to conscious collaboration with the school in its work. A child must not be subjected to two different types of education, one at home and another at school; coherent adjustment of home and school is essential.

VI

BASIC NEEDS *

What then are the basic phychological or psycho-social needs of the child on whose fulfilment his development so critically depends?

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* The term has been used variously to refer to such concepts as reflexes, instincts, emotions, drives and motives or some particular combination of these.

Despite the vagueness of the concept and the fact that there is no agreement among psychologists and child specialists about the number * of needs a human infant (or human being) has, it is becoming increasingly clear that the concept is both simple and useful in understanding human behaviour together with some of its abnormalities and their remedial treatment. A particularly well-known theory of needs is the one associated with the name of Maslow (A.H.). The theory is founded on a series of propositions which are of general applicability:

(i) Man is a wanting being - he always wants and he wants more.

(ii) A satisfied need is not a motivator of behaviour.

(iii) Man's needs are arranged in a series of levels - a hierarchy of importance.

Maslow spelled out a hierarchy of needs having general applicability (which of course allows for individual variations) in the following manner:

(i) Physiological needs - the basic needs of food, drink, rest, sleep, etc.

(ii) Safety needs - the need for protection from physical danger and for economic security and "the desire for an orderly predictable world".

(iii) Social needs - the need to belong to, associate with, and gain acceptance from one's fellows and to give and receive affection and friendship.

(iv) Esteem or Egoistic needs - self-esteem needs for self-confidence, achievement, competence, knowledge, self-respect, independence and freedom, reputation, esteem from others, status, recognition, importance, appreciation, deserved respect of fellows, etc.

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* The lists have varied in length from as few as 2 to as many as 60!

(v) Self-realization or self-actualization needs - needs for realizing one's own potentialities, self-fulfilment, continued self-development and for being creative in the broadest sense of the term.

This hierarchy of needs ranging from "belly to brain" does not present itself in identical order to everyone. Various factors affect the manner in which these needs condition the objectives and finally the behaviour of different individuals. To illustrate the point, take the case of say Ms. A. who is a well-known teacher of long standing in a city nursery school. Assume that her physiological, safety and social needs have been fairly well satisfied. So according to Maslow's second proposition these needs cannot motivate her any longer. What could motivate her towards better performance now? It is quite possible that her esteem or egoistic needs will become active and start urging her to crave for recognition as the best teacher in the school. If so she will now want to establish a reputation for herself, by having her name and picture appear in publications, by seeing herself honoured, bemedalled, or in other ways eulogized. Imagine her performance continuing to be on upward movement for several years with these needs fully satisfied; then all she will need are opportunities for not merely performing at her highest best but as a policy-maker, decision-maker, innovator and so forth. According to Maslow, it is at this point that her self-actualization needs will begin to influence her objectives and subsequent behaviour.

The first impression one might get on reading about Maslow's hierarchy of needs is that not only does it seem to provide a plausible explanation of adult behaviour generally speaking, but that it also offers a fairly satisfactory view of the child's developmental needs.

The priority attention which his biological, that is, health and nutritional needs have received for some years now - to the virtual exclusion, as it were, of his emotional and social needs - will reinforce such an impression.

Such a view would be rather simplistic; we now know

> "that all human needs are inter-related and inter-dependent in a subtle, complex and continuous way. For example, an unhappy baby may reject food and, even if he takes it, he may fail to thrive; or a child may fight sleep for fear that his mother or father may leave home".*

Also gone is the view

> "that the infant's attachment to his mother arose from her providing him with nourishment. Evidence has shown that this 'cupboard love' theory is not justified either, not even among monkeys. Similarly, emotion and learning were considered to be separate, distinct aspects of development; indeed this view is still widely held, particularly in relation to older children.
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> In fact learning (in the widest sense of the word) and emotion, the cognitive and affective aspects of development, intellect and feelings, are so closely interwoven and from so early an age as to be almost indivisible."

"Given inborn potential for development; given the impetus of maturation; and given environmental opportunities of an appropriate kind and at the appropriate time - what can still be missing is the willingness or motivation to learn and make progress. The essential driving force of the will to learn has its roots in the quality of relationships available to the child right from the beginning of life." **

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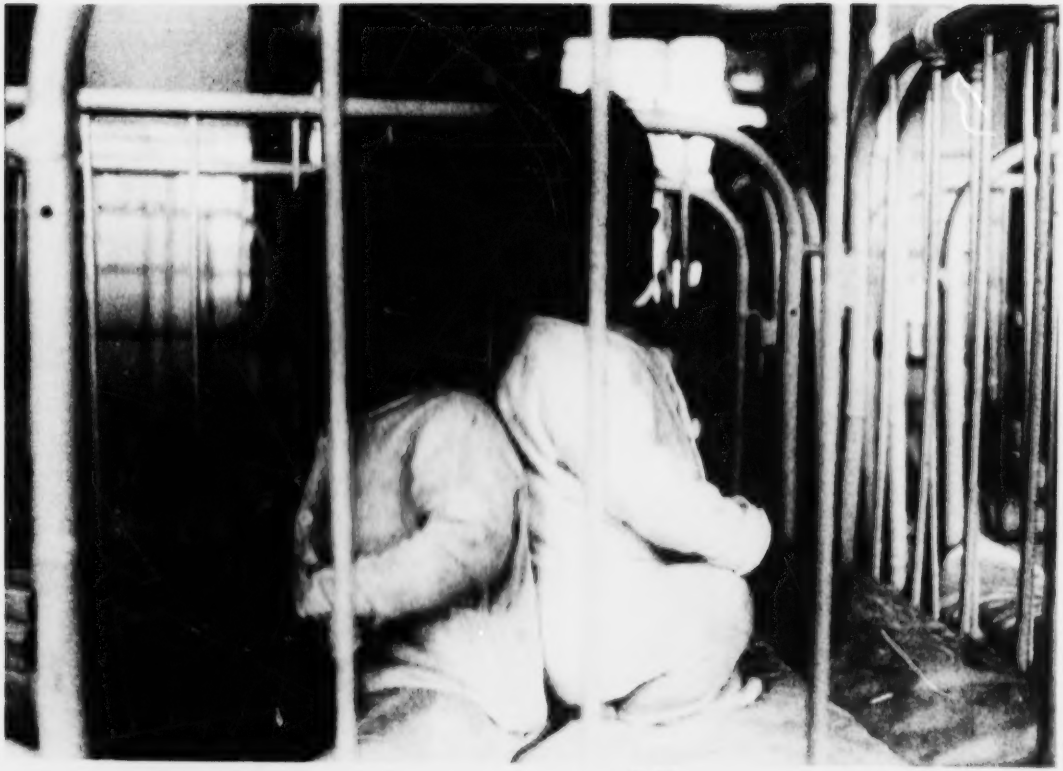
* Pringle, M.K., op.cit., p. 33
** Ibid., p. 33



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To understand those relationships rooted in the interactions of the child with his environment from the very beginning, and to see clearly the satisfactions as well as the problems that can arise for the young learner in the process, it should suffice for the present to postulate the following four psycho-social needs:

(1) THE NEED FOR LOVE AND SECURITY;

(2) THE NEED FOR NEW EXPERIENCES;

(3) THE NEED FOR PRAISE AND RECOGNITION; and

(4) THE NEED FOR RESPONSIBILITY.

"These needs have to be met from the very beginning of life and continue to require fulfilment - to a greater or lesser extent - through adulthood. Of course, their relative importance changes during the different developmental stages as do the ways in which they are met." *

The need for love and security

"Probably this is the most important because it provides the basis for all later relationships, not only within the family, but with friends, colleagues and eventually one's own family. On it depend the healthy development of the personality, the ability to care and respond to affection and, in time, to becoming a loving, caring parent. This need is met by the child experiencing from birth onwards a continuous, reliable, loving relationship - first, with his mother, then father and then an ever-widening circle of adults and contemporaries. The security of a familiar place and a known routine make for continuity and predictability in a world in which the child has to come to terms with so much that is new and changing. Also a stable family life provides him with a sense of personal continuity, of having a past as well as a future, and of a coherent and enduring identity."

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* Pringle, M.K., op.cit., p. 34

"The basic and all-pervasive feature of parental love is that the child is valued unconditionally and for his own sake, irrespective of his sex, appearance, abilities or personality; that this love is given without expectation of or demand for gratitude; and that the constraints imposed upon parental freedom of movement, upon time and upon finance are accepted without resentment or reproach.

The greatest impact of such love is on the self. Approval and acceptance by others are essential for the development of self-approval and self-acceptance. Whether a child will develop a constructive or destructive attitude, first to himself and then to other people, depends in the first place on his parents' attitude to him."

A most important consequence of the first reciprocal love relationship with the parents is that the child is enabled through mutually rewarding relationships, first with them and then

"with others who become significant to him, to learn self-control and to acquire moral values. This he accomplishes by imitation or 'modelling'.

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* The mother mediates between the child's inner subjective and the outside 'real' world; it recognises and establishes his personal identity and individuality; and her loving care is unique in the sense that it is adapted to his very special, individual needs which are recognised as being different from those of any other child.
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Such love is extremely difficult to replace and hence it makes the child vulnerable when it is lost to him, temporarily or permanently. In most cases 'The best that community care can offer is impartiality - to be fair to every child in its care. But a developing personality needs more than that: it needs to know

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that to someone it matters more than other children; that someone will go to unreasonable lengths ... for its sake'." *

This also explains why the teacher in a nursery or primary school can sometimes become one of the most

> "influential adults in the child's expanding world - after all he stands in loco parentis during a large part of the day; so much so, that a deprived child will often address a teacher to whom he becomes attached as 'mummy'.

*In a review of some fifty studies, carried out on the way in which teachers' behaviour affects the achievements of their pupils, two aspects were consistently found to be important: teacher enthusiasm and warmth (Rosenshine, 1971). These not only elicit greater response from each individual but they also create for the whole class a climate of involvement reflected in the attitudes of pupils to each other, to the teacher and to learning." ***

Failure to give love and security to the child

When the child's need for love and security fails to be met adequately, he may easily grow into a person full of irrational anger, hatred and lack of concern for others. A child from a discordant home is liable himself to become emotionally disturbed or antisocial, and not infrequently educationally backward too. A quarrelling, inadequate or disturbed parent makes a poor adult model. Evidence is now accumulating that parental hostility has a particularly harmful effect on a child's later development, especially on his ability to give as an adult unselfish loving care in the parental relationship. Thus parental hostility perpetuates

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* Pringle, M.K., op.cit., p. 36

** Ibid., pp. 33-36

itself from one generation to another in what is literally an extremely vicious circle. *

Also a child with unsatisfactory relations with parents may find it difficult to develop good relations with other authority figures, particularly teachers whom he perceives to be in loco parentis.

Researches on several generations of monkeys raised under a wide range of depriving conditions such as rearing in complete isolation, partial or complete deprivation of maternal care etc. suggest

"that bodily contact (and not food) is the single most important requirement for the infant's attachment to its mother. Much more important, however, was the finding that 'monkeys which have known no affection can never develop either normal sexual behaviour or normal maternal behaviour and are bound to live out their lives as social failures'. This applied equally to male and female monkeys. Those females who did become pregnant - thanks to the persistence of normally-reared males - turned out to be hopeless, helpless and heartless mothers': either they ignored their babies or else they abused them brutally.

"These findings are striking enough to lend strong support to the hypothesis that being deprived of love and security in early life may well have similar long-term consequences in man." **

It will also come in the way of the normal development of the child, if he is given too much love and security. A parent may, for instance, build such a close and exclusive tie with the child that eventual emancipation from it or even sharing it may never take place.

"As a result, the chance of future emotional independence may be jeopardised, together with the establishment of mutually satisfying sexual and parental relationships. Too much security - being as it were wrapped protectively in cotton wool - may make a child too fearful to venture out and face the uncertainties of a less safe and protective world."***

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* Pringle, M.K., op.cit., p. 86
** Ibid., p. 38
*** Ibid., p. 39

The need for new experiences

All human beings are endowed with a high degree of innate curiosity, because when they are born they are indeed strangers in the world.

In order to become adapted and orientated they must explore all areas of the ENVIRONMENT and SOCIETY. It is all-important that the child's natural curiosity be encouraged, his questions answered, and that, from birth, he be given every possible opportunity to explore in all fields, being limited only by safety and his own abilities. (10)

Evidence is clear that only if a child's need for new experiences is adequately met throughout childhood and adolescence, that his intelligence will develop satisfactorily.

Just as the body requires food for physical development and just as an appropriate balanced diet is essential for normal growth, so new experiences are needed for the mind. "From birth onwards, tasks appropriate to each particular stage of growth should be presented to the child so that he can master them and use the new skills as stepping stones towards more difficult achievements: for example, from having learned to grasp and hold an object, he proceeds to learn to feed himself. If denied the opportunity of new experiences, no learning can take place. For example, in a non-speaking environment, the child will not acquire speech even though his hearing and speech organs are quite normal."*

It is only through new experiences that a child achieves a sense of independence or self-reliance. If we observe the natural development of life with sufficient care we see that it can be defined as the gaining of successive levels of

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* Pringle, M.K., op.cit., p. 42

independence, and each such gain is a step forward on the road to independence. For example:

- at 2 months the child can control his head movements and follow something of interest, observing it attentively and at length;

- at 6 months the child can sit up and observe the world in a psychologically very important position of 'confrontation';

- at 12 months the child walks and can use this ability furthering his discoveries of the world, etc.

Then we have the coming of the ability to digest solid food, and the mastery of language, and so it continues. What is important for us to keep in mind is that as soon as an organ or ability has evolved, it must immediately begin to act in its proper sphere. If such experience is not obtained, the organ or the ability will fail to develop normally.

> *The child can only develop fully by means of experience of his environment, by being allowed and encouraged to exercise his new-found abilities until he has perfected them and used them to further his development, as well as building his self-confidence. If he is denied these possibilities his development will be hampered and, in severe cases, be placed in serious jeopardy.* (11)

It is part of the child's nature to get interested in anything new in his environment. "Once interest in novelty appears, it becomes increasingly important as a source of motivation for further exploration and thus learning. In Piaget's words, 'the more an infant has seen and heard, the more he wants to see and hear'. At the same time, there can be too much or too little stimulation or 'input'; the former giving rise to withdrawal and fear, the latter to boredom and apathy. It is one of the skills of child-rearing to be able

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to judge accurately the optimal level which will foster the cognitive development of a particular child at any particular stage of his growth." *

LANGUAGE will increasingly become the single most powerful tool with which the growing child will interact with and explore his environment, and acquire new experiences.

The young child has a special sensitivity to language and with his special type of mind is capable not only of absorbing one but several languages if the correct opportunity occurs within his environment. If we wish to help this side of his development, we must see that not only is he provided with a wide range of experiences at a very early age but he must also be given opportunities to acquire the necessary vocabulary with which to express these experiences. (12)

Like language, PLAY is also most significant in enabling the child to explore his environment. "The phrase 'he is only playing' is still far too often heard, implying that play is only slightly superior to doing nothing at all. In fact, it is an intensely absorbing experience and even more important to the child than work is to the adult."**

"We must remember that play and games, particularly 'make-believe' games, allow the child to anticipate through the medium of fantasy, impending, and possibly frightening, experiences, such as having to go into hospital. He is enabled to assimilate new experiences by re-living them, such as after a visit to the zoo, when he will pretend to be each of the various animals he has seen. Perhaps most important of all, he can

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* Pringle, M.K., op.cit., p. 42
** Ibid., p. 43

find temporary relief and refuge from being small, inexperienced and without any real power, by creating in his imaginative play a world where he is a king, where his deepest wishes are fulfilled, and where it is he who makes and breaks the rules. In short, make-believe assists the child in working through and coming to terms with the frustrations and conflicts which are almost inseparable from growing up in a complex and fast-changing society." *

The need for praise and recognition

"Growing from a helpless baby into a self-reliant adult requires an enormous amount of emotional, social and intellectual learning. It is inevitably beset by difficulties, conflicts and setbacks. Hence a strong incentive is needed.

This is provided by the pleasure shown at success and by the praise given to achievement by the adults who love the child and whom he in turn loves and wants to please. Encouragement and a reasonable level of expectation act as a spur to perseverance.

Too little expectation leads the child to adopt too low a standard of effort and achievement; too high a level makes him feel that he cannot live up to what is required of him which produces discouragement and again diminished effort. An optimal level of expectation needs to be geared to each individual's capabilities at a given point in time and stage of growth, at a level where success is possible but not without effort." **

"Mistakes and failures should be regarded as an integral part of learning for which the child should neither be disapproved nor scolded. Of course, this does not mean that he should never be reproved, be required to make restitution or

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* Pringle, M.K., op.cit., p. 45
** Ibid., p. 53

be punished. Refusal to do something he is capable of doing, deliberate disobedience or destructiveness are quite different from mishaps, like breaking an ornament because of not yet being able to discriminate between breakable and unbreakable objects, or mistakes due to lack of knowledge, such as spelling errors. The child who is made to feel anxious because of his mistakes, often becomes more concerned about avoiding anxiety which is painful, than about analysing and profiting from the reasons for his failure. Also, he needs to feel that learning is unhurried and that successful accomplishment is largely a matter of time."*

Teachers also play a key role in meeting the child's need for praise and recognition one way or the other.

"Even such minimal 'signals' as raised eyebrows, smiles, nods and encouraging 'hms' effectively influence (or 'reinforce') attitude and performance. After all, a child's self-concept is developed through the views others hold of him. If he is called slow, he feels stupid - his yardstick can only be that of the adults who matter to him. Even very bright children may think of themselves as failures if their ability remains unrecognised; the number of such 'able misfits' is by no means negligible - thousands pass through almost every country's schools each year."

"A child's attitude to himself and to learning will determine how effectively he learns, as much as, if not more than, his actual abilities. Recognition from his teacher and his peers assumes increasing importance with age, the influence of the latter reaching a peak during adolescence. Eventually, a job well done becomes its own reward but that is a very mature stage, not usually reached before adolescence; and even the most mature adult responds, and indeed blossoms, when given - at least occasionally - some praise or other form of recognition by those whose opinions he values."

"If the school environment provides the individual with evidence of his adequacy over a number of years, especially in the first few years of school, supported by consistent success over the next four or five years, we believe that this provides a type of immunisation against

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* Pringle, M.K., op.cit., p. 53

mental illness for an indefinite period of time. Such an individual should be able to surmount crises and periods of great stress without suffering too much. His own sense of adequacy and his personal and technical skills (some learned in school) should enable him to use realistic methods in surmounting these crisis situations." *

Denial or an excess of praise and recognition

In most cultures praise is given for achievement and not for effort. This is unfortunate as it can have a most damaging effect on a child who is a slow learner or who is suffering from emotional or physical handicaps. Constant failure inevitably destroys self-esteem and motivation.

"Can the need for praise and recognition be 'over-satisfied', as it were? There seem to be two different ways in which this may happen: FIRST, when praise and recognition are given too readily, the child will not be encouraged to give of his best but be satisfied with the results of too limited an effort; or he may ignore such undeserved praise altogether because it has become devalued in his eyes, so that once again it will be ineffective as an incentive. SECONDLY, when parents make achievement almost a condition of their love, then this may lead to the development in the child of an abnormally strong drive for success, esteem and power. Perhaps this is the driving force behind some of the strikingly successful people in business, sport or the arts, who seem to be spurred on by an almost insatiable need for praise and recognition which to them probably spells 'love'."**

The need for responsibility

"This need is met by allowing the child to gain personal independence, at first through learning to look after himself in matters of his every-day care, such as feeding, dressing and washing himself. It is met too by his having possessions, however small and inexpensive, over which he is allowed to exercise absolute ownership. As he gets older, responsibility

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* Pringle, M.K., op.cit., pp. 54 & 55
** Ibid., p. 98

has to be extended to more important areas, ultimately allowing him freedom over his own actions. Eventually, in full maturity, he should be able to accept responsibility for others.

Granting increasing independence does not mean withholding one's views, tastes and choices, or the reasons for them; nor does it mean opting out from participating and guiding the lives of children; nor, indeed, condoning everything they do. On the contrary, children need a framework of guidance and of limits. They are helped by knowing what is expected or permitted, what the rules are, together with the reasons for them, and whether these are in their interests or in the interests of others." *

But how can responsibility be given to the immature and to the irresponsible? one might ask.

"There is no way out of the dilemma that unless it is granted, the child cannot learn how to exercise it. Like every other skill, it needs to be practised under adult guidance which should gradually diminish. That it is worth taking the risks involved has been shown by the work of those who make this a central issue of their care for deprived, disturbed or delinquent young people.

The child who is denied opportunities to exercise responsibility will fail to develop a sense of responsibility for himself, for others or for material objects. When this denial has gone hand in hand with a lack of training in self-control and in planning ahead, then such youngsters will tend to be impulsive, unwilling to postpone immediate gratification of impulses, and contemptuous of the rights of others - in short, irresponsible." **

It will be equally risky to

"thrust too much responsibility onto a child or to do so too early may have harmful effects. Without the necessary understanding of what is involved and of the probable consequences of a particular decision or choice, responsibility

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* Pringle, M.K., op.cit., p. 151
** Ibid., p. 151, 56 & 103

will be perceived as a burden. He may nevertheless be prepared to shoulder it but at a high cost in terms of anxiety; or he may refuse to accept it, spending much time and ingenuity in devising ways of avoiding responsibility, perhaps wishing and dreaming but rarely doing." *

VII

INTER-RELATEDNESS OF NEEDS AND ACTIONS FOR NEED SATISFACTION

It must be emphasised that all the physical and psycho-social needs of the child are very closely related to one another. No doubt our understanding of how precisely they interact in a given situation or under differing home conditions is severely restricted; but there is enough evidence to suggest that best results in helping a child grow or recover from the ravages of depressing and unhealthy home conditions will accrue only when his bodily and mental needs are taken as a whole and he is given an environment in which all of these have a chance, as far as possible, to satisfy themselves collectively in close interaction with one another.

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Disease, malnutrition, and low levels of cognitive functioning are three of the more obvious indicators of unmet human development needs identified by researchers. Not only are the unmet needs multiple, they are also interacting. It is common knowledge that health and nutrition are interrelated; if a young child is malnourished, he or she is also likely to have other health

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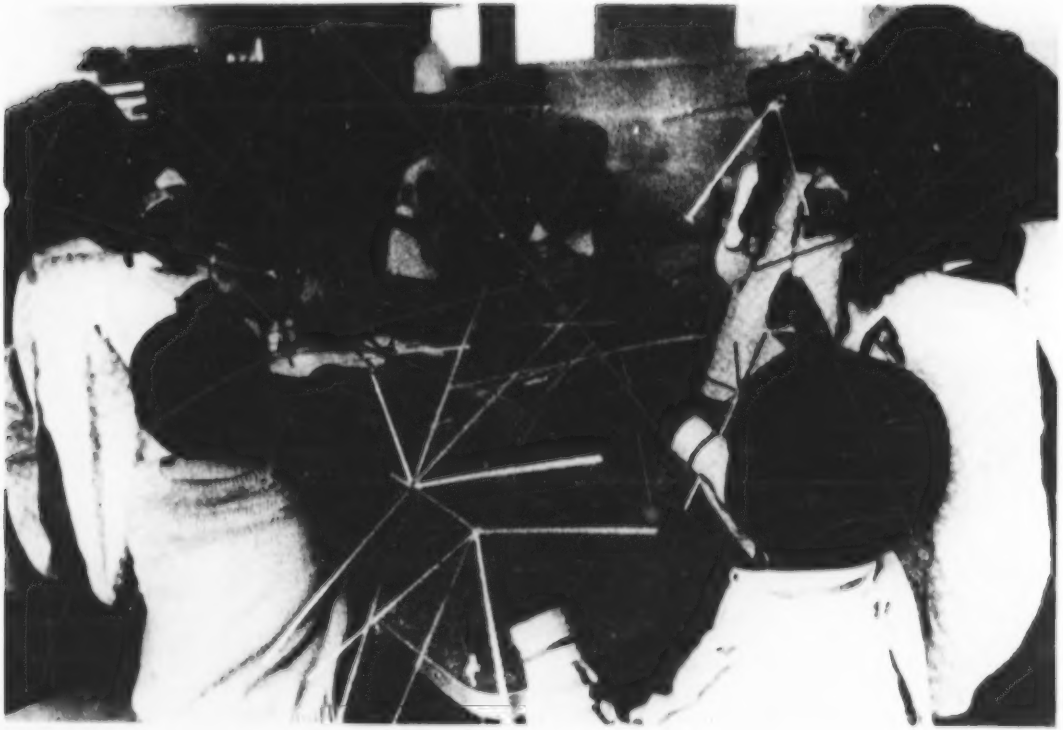
* Pringle, M.K., op.cit., p 102

problems. The relative level of cognitive development is also closely related to health and nutritional levels. Intervention programmes designed in response to single (or "key") causes of problems in early childhood development are likely to be hampered in goal fulfillment: the human development chain is no stronger than its weakest link. On the other hand, programmes that manage to provide support across the range of basic needs have every reason to expect that their various components will not only reinforce but also magnify each other's effects. An infant enjoying an adequate and supportive relationship with a caregiver is less likely to be malnourished or ill; a well-nourished pre-schooler is more likely to be actively involved with his or her social and physical environment. These immediate synergistic effects may be reflected in improved health (and consequently lower demand for remedial health service) as well as enhanced cognitive performance. (13)

Dwyer brings out well the interconnection between a child's nutrition and mother's love for him. Talking about the techniques that an adult might think of using to facilitate child learning, says she:

"Techniques alone, although they are an essential help, are not sufficient because human beings are so constructed that they can receive positive stimulus for development from the outside world only through the channel of love. It is the only true way of communication capable of penetration; under various forms. it accompanies us from conception to death. I say from conception because already in the mother's womb the child, when loved, is in a different biological environment. Very recent researches have shown that women happy with their pregnancies produce a special molecule, endorphine, capable amongst other things of contributing to the development of the nervous system. Mother's milk, moreover, is tne only one containing a special protein, cystine, which is of enormous help in developing the brain. So the importance of breast-feeding, not only from the nutritional and hygienic point of view but also from the



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developmental standpoint and as an outward sign of love, is once again underlined. It is important for children that mothers be happy with and during their pregnancies." (14)

Environmental stimulation

Talking on a physical plane, nowhere is the child's need for a stimulating environment greater than for the development of his brain.

"The human genetic code provides that the vast potential of the human being is present at birth, but from then on what the environment (including the adults who form part of the environment) provides seems to be increasingly important. Thus, the study of the development of the brain of man is all-important. Professor W. Ritchie Russel and Dr. Montanaro tell us that '*the healthy human infant at birth is already provided with his full allocation of nerve cells.* At birth the brain weighs approximately 335 gr. or about 25% of the weight of the adult brain; yet by nine months it is already 750 gr. or more than half the weight of the adult's brain'. It is also interesting to see the rate of increase: 0-3 months, 180 gr.; 3-6 months, 145 gr.; 6-9 months, 90 gr. By five years it is 90% of the adult's brain weight.

This astonishing process is not due to any increase in the number of brain cells, but is due to the growth of patterns and interconnections on which all possibilities for the future depend.

The brain and all the nervous system are strongly privileged during embryo and foetal development; they are the only system in which all the cells are present at birth, but the working speed and complexity of these cells depend on the child's initial experiences.

The anatomy and physiology of the nervous system clearly points out that education (in the sense we shall outline) realises an instrument whose precision is directly proportioned to early progressive training. Thus, intelligence, this individual and free gift, will have available, to manifest itself, a device for which the developmental environment is all-responsible. Whilst most adults tend to think that new-born and unweaned babies only need hygiene and good

food, the new human being, psychically hungry, is wasting its most valuable time. Only appropriate stimulation can increase the volume and weight of the cerebral cortex and adapt each individual cell to its proper function." (15)

Psychologically speaking there is increasing consensus among students of human behaviour that if a child is to achieve the all-round development of his personality, his need for adventure and new experiences must be satisfied from the very beginning. It is only if this need is met throughout childhood and adolescence that a child's intelligence will develop satisfactorily. Just as the body requires food for physical development, new experiences are needed for the development of the mind.

The task of the family, the community and the educational system is to so prepare the environment, be it home or school, that it provides the child with a continuing succession of opportunities and motives for activity to explore the physical and social world that surrounds him.

Provided the opportunities and stimulations so provided are appropriate to his stage of development, such exploration will come to him naturally. Children, we must remember, need to be challenged and guided toward effective solutions to the problems they encounter. Individual activity is the one factor that stimulates and produces development and this is even truer of the little ones of pre-school age than it is for the primary, middle and upper school children.

For the same reasons conditions associated with poverty (e.g. malnutrition, poor health, inadequate crowded living conditions, etc.) do not provide an environment conducive to the growth, learning and

development of a child. The poorer and more deprived the environment is, the more negative the correlation to the child's development, to a point where it results in retardation in all aspects - physical, nutritional, emotional, intellectual, etc.

As differences in children's performances gradually increase with age, children in middle-class families become increasingly advanced. For early development of cognitive ability (development of relational and manipulative schemes and the concept of object permanence, for instance) the typical low-income family appears adequate. With later and more advanced cognitive measures (e.g. using objects as means to desired ends, using objects for their socially-intended functions, solving problems, choosing more complex toys and doing more complicated things with them), children from more affluent and better-educated families do relatively better, in all likelihood because their environments are more stimulating. *

Numerous developmental anomalies and behavioural problems among children from underprivileged families are normally attributed to heredity, whereas they are, in fact, the result of unfavourable living conditions before or shortly after birth. If such children could receive early enough the care, affection and stimulation in their families, the chances are that they would begin to grow like normal children in every important respect and be able soon to shed any imprints that the mediocrity and retardation of their initial living conditions might have inflicted on them.

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* Clark-Steward, K.A., *Child care in the family: A Review of research and some propositions for policy*, New York, Academic Press, 1977, p. 23 quoted from N.S. 10

The home is the basic education institution for the child. It does or should provide the basic physical and psychological needs such as food, shelter, love, security and a sense of belonging. It provides the immediate pattern of physical support (or hazard) and stimulation (or lack or excess of it), and those who live there similarly provide the immediate pattern of social and emotional support and stimulation. They - collectively - are the child's first carer/educators. In the contemporary 'nuclear' family, those involved are usually the mother, father and one or more older brothers and sisters. It has rightly been stated that 'as a rule the family is the care setting for socializing the child. His entire early development is a result of his experiences within the family context, though it is subject to modifications as he grows older and interacts more and more with people outside the family'. *

To quote from a recent WHO report ** :

"It has been well demonstrated in studies in both developing and developed nations that variations in the psycho-social development of children are strongly associated with qualities of parent-child interaction. In particular, it is known that when children are reared in homes where there is a lack of conversational interchange, where parents do not interact positively with their children, and where there is a lack of play opportunities, the development of language, intelligence and scholastic skills is likely to be impaired."

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* Heron, A., op.cit., pp. 18-19

** *Child mental health and psychosocial development, Technical report series*, No. 613, Geneva, World Health Organisation, 1977, pp. 21-22 quoted in A. Heron, op.cit.

Even when the difficulties of space and time are acute, parents can do much to ensure the balanced emotional and intellectual growth of their children. Traditionally, it has been their role and sole responsibility. Parents are a child's first teachers (e.g., in Buddhist texts, the parents are called "the first teachers" and in some languages like Sinhala in Sri Lanka, the collective name for the father and mother is "deguru", meaning "the two teachers"). (16)

The socialization and education of young children is a demanding and complex process, which in most cultures requires the collective efforts of the parents and other members of the family. The father will in all likelihood provide the model for the male roles of the growing boy, but in this he must be supported by the attitudes and expectations of the mother and other family members. Likewise the mother will in all likelihood serve as the model for the female roles of the growing girl, but this function of the mother must be reinforced by the attitudes and expectations of the father and other family members. A minimum degree of harmony and consistency thus seems necessary for the home to function as a nursery for socializing the child.

It is vital for parents to understand the developmental needs of their children and create conditions for their satisfaction. They need to know the rudiments of nutrition and hygiene; but they must also recognise how vital it is for the child to experience love and security. Further the child must be encouraged and given every opportunity to be active, to do for himself what he is capable of, such as washing, feeding, and doing and participating in the kind of activities that he sees around him. Parents must understand the importance of answering his questions correctly and with understanding, allow him to speak and to listen to stories, and give him every opportunity to explore and to become acquainted with everything in his home and immediate environment.

But while both parents contribute to the socialization and learning experiences of the child, very vital and influential in this regard is the role of the child's mother. Through her constant caring, loving encouragement and stimulating behaviour, and her responding to and interacting with the child, the mother can

influence all aspects of his or her growth and development. It is the quality of interaction, however, that is significant rather than quantity.

The central finding of a study * suggests that children's overall competence shows a high correlation with maternal care. The child's cognitive development and the complexity of his play with objects is apparently influenced by the amount of time his mother spends with him; cognitive development is not related to the stimulation inherent in the physical environment per se, a finding which demonstrates the importance of the mother as a mediator of the physical environment. (17)

If in terms of the psycho-social needs outlined above, the child gets off to a good start

"the emotional security can progressively be provided by a wider circle of familiar adults and older children, and the child will increasingly provide some sources of self-stimulation while actively seeking or demanding others." **

Are most biological parents properly equipped by nature to meet adequately the emotional needs of their offspring? Whatever the truth about other animal species, that hardly seems to be the case in so far as homo sapiens is concerned. Perceptive observers of human behaviour in both affluent and economically less-developed societies have stressed time and again the critical importance of parental education to the raising of children.

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* Clark-Steward, K.A., *Interactions between mothers and their young children: Characteristics and consequences.* Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, Vol. 38 No. 6-7, 1973. (Published by the University of Chicago Press by the Society for Research in Child Development.) quoted in N.S. 10

** Heron, A., op.cit., p. 16

How often well-meaning parents can go wrong in dealing with their children is well brought out by the following remarks:

"'We've tried everything' ... 'We treat them all alike' ... 'We've given the child everything he wants'. These three remarks are frequently heard when parents ask for help with a difficult child. The first suggests inconsistent handling, with swings between strict control and weak indulgence ... The second overlooks the fact that siblings are not 'all alike' but vary in age and personality - and therefore in their individual needs ... The third remark suggests that the parents have tried to compensate in irrelevant, extravagant material ways for their difficulty in meeting the child's emotional needs."*

In many otherwise prosperous and well-off homes the excessive 'rat-race' preoccupations of the parents leave them with little time for their children. Having to grow up in such barren loveless homes, children can easily become 'alienated' and fail to imbibe the social and moral values of their culture.

In some homes children suffer a great deal and may even fail to grow normally because they are given too much freedom. The parental belief that 'children must be allowed to do as they please, as conflict creates behavioural problems' is very much in error. We must remember that children grow best only by meeting challenges and by resolving conflicts appropriate to their stage of development; without conflict and challenges there can be no development.

"Indeed, for any development to take place, the child must learn to give up more primitive behaviour for new, more mature satisfactions. For example, the two-year-old has to give up the comfort of being carried about, for the pleasure of independent locomotion; the five-year-old must inhibit the inclination to grab what he wants, for the advantage of playing cooperatively with others; the thirteen-year-old must resolve the conflict between joining the leisure activities of his friends and doing homework, which will earn him the

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* Berry, J., *Social work with children*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972 quoted in M.K. Pringle, op. cit.

approval of parents and teachers or better marks or whatever satisfaction is most desired at the time. Of course, a conflict will not invariably be solved in the most mature direction but then progress rarely proceeds in a straight line." *

Child's participation in domestic and parental activities

In many developing societies children get opportunities to participate in the domestic and occupational activities of the home from an early age.

Doing such things as rocking babies, cutting vegetables, sorting rice for cooking, carrying and stacking such things as firewood, waterpots and small farm implements, folding and stacking of clothes, sweeping the floor of the house, washing of kitchen floor and cooking utensils, combing another child's hair, colouring outside walls of the mud house with cow dung or lime, weeding, making balls of thread, trading or looking after the shop when the parent is away, etc. provides the most natural setting imaginable for the child to experience love and acceptance, to acquire new experiences and skills and to achieve maturity and independence.

It is well-known that in many national cultures of Africa and Asia, the child learns a lot from his sisters, brothers, half-brothers, grandparents and parents by participating in their daily chores such as weeding, hunting, farming and trading. The child grows up knowing exactly what the society expects from him and this gives him confidence in his future life. This confidence influences growth in his cognitive development because clear thinking is enhanced by a state of happiness and high achievement motivations. No

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* Pringle, M.K., op.cit., p. 74

wonder the African child has been found to show precocity in motor development in the first years of his life. * It may well be that the advantage is cognitive also; but little research has been done to explore this particular aspect. (18)

One great disadvantage for the child of industrialisation and urbanisation has been the separation of the home from workplace, denying to the child areas of participation in the occupational activities of the parents.

Pre-school education in the developing countries must move away from the so-called 'deficit' model which is based on the false and simplistic assumption that each disadvantaged situation, no matter what the nature of the disadvantage, or where, culturally speaking, it occurs, needs the same compensatory material resources and operations for treatment. Pre-school education in such countries must instead try to build itself up by making maximum use of natural inexpensive homebased activities if the distribution of its benefits is at all to reach the millions and millions of children in need. If this does not happen there is a real danger that like the rest of education pre-school education may also become a device for the perpetuation of privilege and elitism.

Lest this create an impression that given suitable care and parental responsibility, every home, however meagre and undeveloped its material resources, can always be expected to achieve some modicum of self-sufficiency in meeting the developmental needs of its children, a caveat is necessary. At the time or in places where Man was only expected to adapt

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* It is now known that he starts lagging behind the Western child in the second and third years. Why this decline, instead of consolidation of the initial advantage? Maybe it is due to the shift in mother's treatment of their children; as in most cases, the children are left alone most of the time since they can sit and walk; and also mothers are expecting other children. Malnutrition may also be an influence. The point has to be researched carefully.

to the simple environment and society, the child was able to gain all he needed by running freely in the village, watching and participating in the life and work of the people who surrounded him. However, for most people in the world this isolated existence no longer obtains.

> *With modern means of communication it is now necessary for the village child also to adapt to the larger world - no one can tell where a child born in a remote village will, in fact, lead out his life; nor the technological developments which would transform his life in the village. So children need to adapt not only to the here and now, the simple life, but also to the complicated life of the world in all its aspects. To do this he must be able to explore, get to know and build into himself the knowledge and abilities necessary for a full life in a wider context. For this he needs extra help. This is where pre-school education comes in and can play an important role. (13)*

VIII

GUIDELINES FOR RESPONSIBLE PARENTHOOD

Parental rejection is neither the prerogative of any social class nor necessarily connected with socio-economic disadvantage. If the developmental needs of the child are to be met effectively, everything must be done to make parenthood more responsible and conscious of its obligations everywhere. Pringle has attempted to distil from our knowledge and experience of child-rearing, a set of ten guidelines

which she calls 'The Child Care Commandments'.* The guidelines which should interest every parent and pre-school teacher are reproduced below:

Ten Child Care Commandments

1. Give continuous, consistent, loving care - it's as essential for the mind's health as food is for the body.

2. Give generously of your time and understanding - playing with and reading to your child matters more than a tidy smooth-running home.

3. Provide new experiences and bathe your child in language from birth onwards - they enrich his growing mind.

4. Encourage him to play in every way both by himself and with other children - exploring, imitating, constructing, pretending and creating.

5. Give more praise for effort than for achievement.

6. Give him ever-increasing responsibility - like all skills, it needs to be practised.

7. Remember that every child is unique - so suitable handling for one may not be right for another.

8. Make the way you show disapproval fit your child's temperament, age and understanding.

9. Never threaten that you will stop loving him or give him away; you may reject his behaviour but never suggest that you might reject him.

10. Don't expect gratitude; your child did not ask to be born - the choice was yours.

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* Pringle, M.K., op.cit., p. 159

To these ten should perhaps be added one more: Be consistent in your dealings with the child and other members of the family. No apology need be offered for the suggestion. Every child is a shrewd and vigilant observer of events and activities around him. Any inconstancy or erratic behaviour on the part of one or both parents in rewarding or punishing him, will only confuse the child, retard his development, and in extreme cases, sow the seeds of permanent ambivalence, if not hostility, towards things, people and situations.

Needless to add these guidelines are of equal relevance to the work of the pre-school caregiver, auxiliary or teacher.

Home and pre-school institutions

The need for the 'home' and the pre-school institution, where one exists, to move closer to each other in the interest of the child cannot be overstressed. The influence of the home can easily undo anything that the school achieves. Hopefully there is a growing awareness of this extremely important desideratum, whose realisation deserves every encouragement from the educational administrator and policy maker.

The Unesco world survey of 1974 sought answers from the Member States on this particular aspect of pre-school education. While no one was surprised that

"In many cases all that happens is that parents are invited to visit the institution, to listen to a talk, to see an exhibition of the children's work or to attend a social gathering organized by the institution." *

Interestingly enough

"Several replies reveal relations which entail more active participation on the part of the parents. Many parents' associations participate directly in the management and administration of the institution, in some cases playing a direct role, either by helping the institution to build and

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* Mialaret, G., *World survey of pre-school education*, Educational Studies and Documents, No. 19, Unesco, 1976, p. 51

improve its premises, or by organizing working sessions (lectures, seminars) for the parents themselves. This makes it possible for the parents to exchange ideas; one reply even indicates that parents are given some instruction as to how to observe children and their activities." *

Even more gratifying were some of the other replies that

"state that parents directly assist in school activities (for example during a visit or a journey) or activities in connexion with the school (preparing special celebrations or exhibitions); some replies even indicate that part of the teaching equipment is constructed by the parents themselves".**

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* Mialaret, G., op.cit., p. 51
** Ibid., p. 51

ANNOTATED LIST OF NOTES COMMENTS... (CHILD, FAMILY, COMMUNITY) NEW SERIES: PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION 1-39

N.S. No.	Classification No.*	Title
1	1	Education of Children - 0 to 6 Years - in Developing Countries - A general description *(Parents' role to ensure balanced emotional and intellectual growth; child in the family; child and his parents; child and society; pre-school activities; role of adults; helping the child grow up; early childhood education)*
2	2	Child and his Development from Birth to Six Years Old - A resource document *(The first years of life; the major stages of development; perfecting of previous acquisitions; obstacles on the way; helping the harmonious development of the child; some examples of programmes for young children)*
3	3	Pre-School Education in Developing Countries - An expert's view. *(A decisive period; the role of pre-primary education; practical considerations)*
7	4	Books and Pre-school Learning *(Books to help adults involved in pre-school learning; do-it-yourself guides; books to help older children involved in bringing up younger siblings; books for future parents at secondary school level; books and/or printed material for the pre-school child; experience of industrialized countries; special considerations in preparing books/*

* As per Index & reading Guide - Notes, Comments...(Child, Family Community) New Series.

materials for pre-school children; books for primary school children; practical implications)

8 5 Some Approaches to Pre-school Education - A resource document
(Extent of current information; examples and pointers: Courtyard Play Centres (Angarwadi); day-care centres to help working mothers (Nigeria); day care of children during agricultural season to relieve mothers for productive work (Senegal), Mobile Creche - Day-care cum pre-school education in urban settings (India); Market Nursery for children of working mothers (Nigeria); Pre-school as base for basic services to children (Trinidad and Tobago); Day care integrated with basic services (North Africa); Integrating day-care and early childhood education (Finland); Pre-school as the initial stage for achieving social/educational objectives (Singapore); compensatory education to help the disadvantaged child (Malaysia); early stimulation in a clinical setting (Uruguay); mothers and neighbours in day-care and pre-school education (Colombia); pre-school education in villages organized by mothers (Sri Lanka); preparing parents for their role in early childhood education (Hungary); non-formal programmes for young children organized by regional and local government (Peru); mobilisation of volunteer auxiliaries in pre-school education (Venezuela); involvement of local communities in pre-school education (Italy); community involvement in early childhood education (Australia); mobilising local resources (Cameroon); a nationwide programme of state-sponsored day-care centres (The Socialist Republic of Viet-Nam); State initiatives in pre-school education (Malaysia); sub-

regional co-operation in developing programmes for pre-school children (Eastern Africa).

9	6	How to run a Balwadi - Sample of a do-it-yourself guide book *(What is a Balwadi; what should the attitude of a Balwadi teacher be; starting a Balwadi; elaboration of activities of a Balwadi; maintenance of records, registers, etc.)*
10	7	Towards a National Early Childhood Policy - A discussion paper *(Need for a national early childhood policy; scope of a national early childhood policy; educational aspects of a national early childhood policy).*
13	8	Training Children to Care for Young Siblings - Exemplar learning materials *(Development of cognitive competencies and manipulative skills; language and motor development)*
14	9	University and College Students as Child Development Workers - Experience of M.S. University, Baroda, Gujarat, India *(Field work; child development worker; constraints; problems and pitfalls)*
21	10	Toys and Other Learning Materials for Early Childhood - Some suggestions *(Supervised and unsupervised play; furniture; buildings; items of equipment; the three R's)*
25	11	The Adaptation of Pre-school Education to the African Environment *(Pre-school education: For what purpose? Goals and objectives. How? By whom and with what?)*
33	12	Survival, Protection, Care and Preparation of the Young Child - A discussion paper *(Some essential pre-requisites of educational policy; why early childhood education?; Expert opinions; trends in the 1980s)*

36	13	Urban Poor and Child Development - A discussion paper *(Urban and rural poor; social and cultural milieu of slums; extra burden of the urban poor child; theoretical and policy implications)*
39	14	Training Programmes for Day-care Workers - A brief introduction to the training model of mobile creches in India *(Need and origin; setting up and evolution; pattern of training; trainer cadre; method/ process of training; training capacity; characteristics of the model)*
54	15	Tentativas de Soluction Relativas al Problema de la Educacion Pre-Escolar No Formal *(Pre-school project in the Dominican Republic: the problem; objectives; strategy; plan of action; research; technology; study programme; distance training; work with parents, education programmes and means of social communication; evaluation; development of elements and contents of curriculum; community participation; intersectoral co-ordination)*
57	16	Community Services Approach to Pre-school Services - Reflections of a group of East African educators *(The problems; existing services for pre-school children in Eastern Africa; priorities and alternatives; general observations and suggestions; setting targets for the future; community, parents and teachers - partners in pre-school education; monitoring and evaluation of pre-school projects)*
59	17	Cognitive Development in African Children - A resource document *(Stages of cognitive development; cultural influences; cognitive development in the African child; factors that facilitate cognitive development; specific examples of*

cognitive development in African children)

60 18 Co-operative Child Care within the Community - An innovative Colombian experiment concerning the pre-school age child
(Co-operative child homes; organizational process; administration and working; activities within the field of education; health and nutrition)

62 19 The Renaissance of Early Childhood Education - The American experience as a basis for comparison with today's conditions in developing countries
(Factors in renaissance of interest; task in hand)

73 20 The Child's First Learning Environment - The family and the home
(The family and the home: Points of departure; the family, the children and the home; conditions for growth)

77 21 The Learning Abilities of the Young Child - Arguments in favour of day-care pre-school education and parent education
(Stated claims; the vastness of the potential of man; needs of the child from birth to six years; parent education; day-care and pre-school education)

84 22 Seen Through Children's Eyes - A pictorial account of some facets of child development
(A pictorial account of development from birth for parents and teachers)

86 23 Developing Koranic Schools to Meet the Educational Needs of the Young Child
(What is a koranic school? advantages and limitations of Koranic schools; How to improve and develop Koranic schools; some guidelines for starting and conducting Koranic schools)

88 24 Early Childhood Education and Pre-school Intervention - Experiences of early childhood

development and education project of Turkey
(Pre-school education in Turkey; early childhood development and education project in Turkey; First aspect: research and evaluation, Second aspect: conceptualizations and proposals, Third aspect: material development)

91 25 **Nutrition Education of Pre-school Age Children - Suggestions to teachers and parents**
(Nutrition Education - How can it be achieved? In the long run children must learn to eat well and consume local products; children must learn elementary hygiene rules; evaluating nutrition education; family participation)

94 26 **Early Childhood Education Through Home-based Activities**
(Why adapt a new approach? A suggested framework for home-based child development activities: Perceptual motor learning, visual discrimination, auditory discrimination, advantages of home-based activities)

95 27 **Plan Curricular de la Educacion Pre-Escolar - Dominican Republic**
(Continuation of N.S. 54 on pre-school project of Dominican Republic: Contents of pre-school programmes presented in detail in tables)

98 28 **Children's Playthings and Play Materials - A resource document for training of personnel serving the young child**
(Playthings and play materials: Selected features in the developed world)

99 29 **The Changing Face of Early Childhood Care and Education Programmes in Latin America - A review of experiences and aids**
(A brief overview; a shifting rationale: From welfare toward development, shifting scope and coverage, toward a combination of custodial

and developmental care, from recuperation toward preventive intervention, from certified professionals or parents to working with many care givers, from more expensive toward lower cost programmes)

101 30 **Hong Kong's Policy on Care and Education of the Young Child - A sample of a newly evolved national policy**
(The structure of pre-primary services; Standards of pre-primary care and education; Financial assistance for pre-primary services; Basic furniture and equipment for kindergartens; Summary of legislation which may be required)

106 31 **Pre-school and Primary Education in China - A brief eye-witness account**
(Pre-school education; Primary schools; Development of services)

107 32 **International Dimensions of Early Childhood Education - A brief survey of current knowledge and some programmes in operation**
(Current knowledge about child development; Some examples of programmes in operation; Conclusions)

109 33 **Training Personnel for Early Childhood Education - An Israeli experience**
(Study programme; Content of lecture series; Workshops; Content of shorter courses; Study visits; Final projects; Participants' findings and conclusions)

111 34 **Primary Care for Pre-school Children through Home Day-care Centres - A Brazilian experience**
(Project execution mechanisms; General method of operation; Cost implications; Conclusions)

122 35 **Early Childhood Programmes in Latin America - A review of experiences and guidelines for action**
(Emerging programmes in early childhood education; Why early childhood education

programmes? Review of the experiences of the 1970s; Some types of successful innovations)

123 36 **Day Care Homes in Venezuela: Results of a Comprehensive Evaluation**
(The programme: A neighbourhood service; The evaluation: Neighbourhood service scrutinized)

124 37 **Common "Street" Games and Child Development - Suggestions for des[illegible] childhood educational activities**
(Common street games: a [illegible] resource; Special relevance: low-income countries; Relevance for "developed" countries; Collecting and grouping of games)

125 38 **Pre-school Education and the World's Poorest: An Alternative View**
(Is education only an optional concern? Short-term payoffs)

130 39 **"Little Mothers Need Help" - A brief account of an Indian experiment in training older siblings for better child-minding**
(The education cum recreation (ECR) programme with CHILD-TO-child approach; Guidelines based on experience; Conclusions and points to ponder)

REFERENCES TO NOTES, COMMENTS ...
(CHILD, FAMILY, COMMUNITY) NEW SERIES

(1) N.S. 1, Education of Children - 0 to 6 Years - in Developing Countries, p. 1, 2 & 6

(2) N.S. 62, Renaissance of Early Childhood Education, p. 3

(3) N.S. 33, Survival, Protection, Care and Preparation of the Young Child, p. 2

(4) N.S. 59, Cognitive Development in African Children, p. 3

(5) N.S. 107, International Dimensions of Early Childhood Education, p. 1 & 2

(6) N.S. 59, Cognitive Development in African Children, p. 5

(7) N.S. 107, International Dimensions of Early Childhood Education, p. 2

(8) N.S. 73, The Child's First Learning Environment, p 7

(9) N.S. 73, The Child's First Learning Environment, p 8

(10) N.S. 77, The Learning Abilities of the Young Child, p. 7

(11) N.S. 77, The Learning Abilities of the Young Child, p. 6

(12) N.S. 77, The Learning Abilities of the Young Child, p. 7

(13) N.S. 125, Pre-school Education and the World's Poorest: An Alternative View, p. 10

(14) N.S. 77, The Learning Abilities of the Young Child, p. 5

(15) N.S. 77, The Learning Abilities of the Young Child, p. 3-4

(16) N.S. 1, Education of Children - 0 to 6 Years - in Developing Countries, p. 2

(17) N.S. 10, Towards a National Early Childhood Policy, p. 2

(18) N.S. 59 , Cognitive Development in African Children, p. 6

(19) N.S. 77, The Learning Abilities of the Young Child, p. 8